Department of Linguistics: Publication, No. 13

COLLECTED PAPERS ON DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTICS

By

Prof. T. BURROW

(Professor of Sanskrit, Indian Institute, Oxford University, London)

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

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S. INDIA

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FOREWORD

Dr. Burrow and Dr. Emeneau who are the joint editors of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary started as Professors of Sanskrit and came to be interested in Dravidian Linguistics for solving the etymology of some Sanskrit words. Dr. Burrow was probably the first to make use of the Tamil Lexicon published by the Madras University for this purpose. His essays on Dravidic Study started a new era in Dravidian Linguistics and his analytical memory saw the importance of forms which have suggested to him the basis of the theories. His essays are unfortunately not easily available now to the research students on Dravidian Linguistics. When the Centre of Advanced Study in Dravidian Linguistics came to be organised at the Annamalai University, I as its Director requested his permission to collect the essays in a book form. Since he felt that some of these required revision, he was reluctant at first, but he was magnanimous enough to permit me ultimately to publish them. They, even as they were published in their original form, have a place in the study of the historical development of the various theories. Our thanks are due to Dr. Burrow for his permission and for his introduction written for this edition.

I have great pleasure in placing this book before the scholars interested in Dravidology.

Madurai
5—3—1968

T. P. Meenakshisundaran
Vice-Chancellor, Madurai University

INTRODUCTION

At the time these studies were first published, Dravidian philology was one of the most neglected fields in Oriental studies. Bishop Caldwell's pioneer work, which was written before Indo-european comparative philology was properly developed, was not followed up, and it remained the only authority on the subject long after its methods had become out of date. In the long intervening period there were only a handful of articles dealing with Dravidian philology which could be regarded as significant. In general Dravidian comparative philology was virgin ground waiting to be tilled. This fact, at the time, was one of the major attractions of the subject.

In the Indo-european field detailed phonetic comparison of the languages, and the establishment of the laws of phonetic change, had provided the indispensable scientific basis on which the science of comparative philology was founded, and the same methods had been successfully applied to the study of other linguistic families. So it was clear that in tackling Dravidian the same methods had to be applied, which had proved so fruitful elsewhere. For this reason a beginning was made with an investigation of certain problems of Dravidian comparative phonology on the same lines. In the first study it was maintained that primitive Dravidian had initially only unvoiced stops, as in Tamil, and that the initial voiced stops in those languages in which they occur, were of secondary origin. After many years of further study no good reason has been found to alter this opinion.

In Dravidian Studies II the question of the alternation of short *e* and *o* with *i* and *u* in South Dravidian was investigated. The topic proved to be of considerable interest, and has elicited further articles by other scholars. The other articles concerning phonetic problems deal with the changes affecting certain initial consonants (*k*– III, *y*- and *ñ*– V, and *c*/*s* VI). In these articles attempt was made to present as full a collection of the material as possible, and the etymological collections accumulated for the purpose served also as preliminary work for the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.

There are two other subjects, both of considerable importance, which figure in the present collection, (i) the question of the influence of Dravidian on Sanskrit and other forms of Indo–Aryan, and (ii) the question of the relationship of Dravidian with Uralian, and in particular with Finno–ugrian. Three articles are devoted to the former subject, and one to the latter.

Previous scholars, notably Gundert and Kittel, had maintained that Dravidian elements were to be found in the Sanskrit vocabulary, and they had collected some evidence in support of this view. The object of the articles in this collection was to enlarge this material by presenting as many examples as possible where a Dravidian origin of Sanskrit words seemed plausible, and to discuss the principles by which such words might be distinguished from the reverse instances of Indo-Aryan loanwords in Dravidian. This subject (like the corresponding one of Munda words in Sanskrit) has given rise to some controversy, and some scholars have adopted a sceptical attitude. In a few of the examples listed an Indo–european etymology has since been shown to be more

plausible, but these constitute only a small percentage of the list, and there remains an impressive number of Sanskrit words for which Dravidian origin can be claimed with good reason. In the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary some of the more doubtful of the etymologies were omitted, but the greater majority were retained.

The connection between Dravidian and Uralian had first been suggested by Caldwell, who used the term "Scythian" in the sense of Ural-Altaic. Later some useful articles on the subject were published by O. Schrader. Dravidian Studies IV was an attempt to carry the subject further by a detailed comparison of words denoting parts of the body in the two language-families. The correspondences appear to be too numerous to be due to chance, and, of course they are found not only in this part of the vocabulary, and further investigation on these lines would seem to be desirable. Very little attention has been paid to the subject in the intervening period, but there have been occasional signs of interest in it. It is to be hoped that more will be done in the future, not only from the Dravidian, but also from the Uralian side.

The articles cover only a small portion of the Dravidian field and their termination coincided with the beginning of work on the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. The work involved in that publication and its supplement left no time for the further prosecution of the "Studies", though at the same time it provided a broader basis for such work in the future.

The number of Dravidian languages available in print at that period was comparatively restricted, and of some the existence even was unknown. The picture has very much changed since then. It is now fairly certain that all the minor

Dravidian languages of Central India have been identified, and useful material is available for all of them, though not all of it is in print. On the whole, however, the conclusions reached in the articles do not seem to be materially affected by the new evidence.

Another change since those days is the amount of attention now being paid to Dravidian studies. At that time comparatively few people were interested in this linguistic field, but in the last twenty years the picture has completely altered. In this the lead has been taken by the universities of South India, and in particular by Annamalai University, which has undertaken the republication of these studies. There is now growing up a new generation of Dravidian linguists, whose influence is becoming noticeable in many aspects of the subject. A rapid increase of research and publication is now under way, and in the next twenty years important advances are to be expected.

Oxford
5 March 1968

T. Burrow

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It is the purpose of the present paper to demonstrate that this theory is incorrect and that the existence of the initial sonants in Telugu and Kanarese is secondary and cannot be attributed to the parent language. That this is so is maintained for the following reasons :

1. A very large percentage of the words in Ka. and Te. beginning with *g*, *d*, etc. have nothing corresponding to them in Tamil at all.

2. Of the correspondences pointed out a considerable number are merely late loanwords in Tamil (and Mal.) and their evidence is therefore of no value.

3. Where the correspondences are ancient there is no regularity in so far as in some cases Telugu agrees with Tamil as against Kanarese and in others Kanarese with Tamil against Te., while inside both languages, especially Kanarese, there is considerable fluctuation.

4. In the case of many individual words it can be demonstrated that voicing in Ka. and Te. is secondary.

I

Under the first heading we may quote the following examples : Ka. *gaddige* throne, seat, Te. *gadde* ; Ka. *gadda* chin, Te. *gadduva* ; Ka. *gampe* basket, Te. *gampa*; Te. Ka. *gavi* cave [if this is connected with the verb *kavi* to overspread, cover, then it is certainly a case of secondary voicing, because that verb appears with initial k- in both Te. and Ka.] ; Te. Ka. *gasi* dregs, Ka. cf *gaṣṭu* [also possibly a case of secondary voicing if we are to compare *kasa* to be bitter, nasty, Te. *kasaṭu*, etc.]; Ka. Tu. Te. *gāsi* pain, distress, Ka.

also *ghāsi*; Ka. *gāḷa* fish-hook, Te. *gālamu*; Te. *giñja* seed Ka. *giñju* the state of being full of seeds; Ka. *giḍḍu* dwarfish, Te *giḍḍa* (cf. *guḍḍa*); Ka. *gidda* a quarter, Te. *gidda*; Ka. *girage*, *girige* ankle, Te. *girige*; Ka. *gību* house, abode, Te. *gīmu*; Ka. *gukku* to draw a deep breath, Te. *g(r)ukku*; Ka. *guggari* boiled grain, Te. *guggiḷḷu* (pl.); Ka. Te. *guñju* to pull; Ka. *guḍḍu* egg, eyeball, Te. *g(r)uḍḍu*; Ka. *gutta* closeness, tightness, Te. *guttamu*; Ka. *gubaru* thickness, Te. *guburu* cf. *gumuru*; Ka. *gudige* club, Te. *gude*; Ka. Te. *gubbi* knob; Ka *gurugulu* sunflower, Te. *guruga*; Ka. *geṇṭu* removal, Te. *geṇṭu* movement; Ka. Te. *gojju* mess of pottage; Ka. Te. *goḍḍu* barren; Ka. Te. *gondi* alley; Ka *gōnde* bull, Te. *gōda*.

Ka. *jagaḷa* quarrel, fight, Te. *jagaḍa*; Ka. *jaḍḍa* nearness, Te. *jaḍḍa*, cf. Ka. *daḍḍa*; Ka. *jabbu* weakness, Te. *iabbu*; Ka. *jabbulu* a grassy place, Te. *jobbilu* to grow thickly; Ka. *jambu* length, Te. *jampu*; Ka. *jaṅguli* herd, Te. *jaṅgili*; Ka. *jaṟi* centipede, Te. *jeṟṟi*; Ka. *javi* hair of a horse's tail, Te *javvi*; Te. Ka. *jādu* and *jāju* red colour; Ka. *iāyila* dog, Te. *jāgilamu*, *jāgilāyi*; Ka. *jigaṭu jibaṭu* slime, *igi*, *jibi* viscidity, *jigil* to be sticky, Te. *jigaṭa*, *jiguru* (possibly a case of secondary voicing and connected with Te. Ta. *cikku*, Ka. *sikku*); Ka. Tu. *jinke* antelope, Te. *jiṅka*; Te. Ka. *jiḍḍu* greasy substance; Ka. *jiṇagu* fineness of texture, Te. *jilugu*; Ka. *jillu* the sensation produced by touching cold water, Te. *jillu* coldness, chill; Ka. Tu. Te. *juṭṭu* crest of hair (cf. Skt. *jūṭam*); Ka. Te. *juvvi* "Ficus infectoria"; Ka. *jompa* cluster, bunch, Te. *jompamu*; Ka. *jōke* care, beauty; comeliness, Te. *jōka*.

Ka. *daṭṭa* thick-set, Te. *daṭṭamu* (cf. Mhr. *dāṭ* > **daṭṭa*); Ka. Te. *daṇḍi* greatness; Ka. Tu. *dappa* thickness, stoutness

Te. *dappamu*, Ka. also *doppa*; Ka. *diṇḍu* heap, Te. *diṇḍu* bundle, etc., Ka. Te. *diṭu* equality; Ka. Te. *duppi* the spotted deer; Ka. Te. *dumuku* to jump; Ka. *dūle* itching, lust, Te. *dūla*; Te. Ka. Tu. *doḍḍa* big; Ka. *doṇe*, *ḍoṇe* pool on a hill, Te. *dona* (hardly = Ta. *cunai*); Ka. *dobbu*, *ḍobbu* to shove, Te. *dobbu*; Ka. *dombi*, *ḍombi* riot, Te. *dommi*; Ka. *dore* to be obtained, Te. *doraku*, *dorayu*; Ka. *dōme* mosquito, Te. *dōma*.

Initial *b*– in Ka. has replaced Dravidian *v*–; in Telugu, however, *v*– remains. We may regard, therefore, words common to Te. and Ka. beginning with *b*– as representing original *b*– though, of course, if the theory maintained in this paper is correct, they cannot be of primitive Dravidian origin. We cannot be quite sure in every case that an original *v*– may not be represented, because Te. shows a number of irregular instances of *b* < *v*; e.g. *bayalu* field, Ka. *bayalu*. Ta. *vayal*; *bāvi* tank < Skt. *vāpi*; *bīramu* prowess < Skt. *vīra*–; *beṭṭa* besides *veṭṭa* heat, *begaḍu* be alarmed besides *vegaḍu*. These examples are most plausibly due to Kanarese influence. Therefore in the examples to follow there may be one or two instances of *b* < *v*, but they cannot be so in the mass, because the percentage of such instances in Telugu is very small and consequently a reasonable number of correspondences Te. Ka. *b*– demonstrate an orginal *b*– in these forms as a whole. Examples are:–

Ka. *baṅke* slime, gum, glue, Te. *baṅka*; Ka. *baṇḍe* rock, Te. *baṇḍa*; Ka. *baduku*, *barduku* to live, Te. *bratuku*; Ka. Te. *bigi* to fasten; Ka. *biṅka*, Te. *biṅkamu* pride; Ka. *biṟu* hardness, firmness, Te. *biṟṟu*; Ka. *bīga* lock, Te. *bīgamu* (> Ta. Ma. *vīgamu*); Ka. Te. *bīḍu* waste; Ka. *bulla*, *bulli* penis, Te. *bulla*; Ka. *buvve* food, Te. *buvva*; Ka. *būṭaka* trick, Te. *būṭakamu*; Ka. *būtu* obscene language,

Te. *būtu*; Te. Ka. *beṇḍu* cork (>Ta. *veṇḍu*); Ka. *bella* jaggory, Te. *bellamu* (>Ta. Ma. *vellam*); Te. Ka. *besta* fisherman, Ka. also *besada*; Te. *bokki* defective, toothless, Ka. *bokka*; Te. Ka. *boccu* hair, down (>Ta. *poccu*); Te. *bobbara* bark of trees, Ka. *bobbaḍe*; Ka. *bobbe* outcry, Te. *bobba*; Ka *bōḍu, bōḍi* bald, toothless, cf. *bōḻu, bōḻi* Te. *bōḍi;* Ka. *bōki* a pot, Te. *bōki*.

In addition there are numerous words peculiar to each language. Examples in Kanarese :—

gañjaḷi bush, *gabbarisu* to dig, *gallisu* to annoy, *gavuju, gavujala* wagtail *(*cf. *kapiñjala?)*, *gāḍi* grace, *gādari wheel*, *gābu* fear, *gāṟu* wild, *guṅgi* large black bee, *guḍugu* to thunder, *gumma* bugbear, *gurbu* terror, *gubbara* manure, *gōṇ* nape of the neck, *gōsumbe* chameleon, *jakkulisu* to tickle, *jagali* pedestal, *jaṅkisu* to scold, *jabbarisu* to scold, *jaṟe* to abuse, *jāli* "Acacia arabica", *juñju* comb of a cock, *jōgaḷa* lullaby, *daddu* cracked, *dasi* stake *daḷa* army (Skt. *dala*), *dāgaḍi* "Cocculus villosus", *dibba* eminence, hillock, *duḍi* to toil, *duṇḍu* round, *dundu* prodigality, *dūsaṟu* motive, *doṇṇe, ḍoṇṇe* club (cf. Skt. *daṇḍa*).

In Telugu such words are a great deal more numerous than in Kanarese :—

gañja arable land, *gaṇṭa* stubble, *gaṇṭe, gariṭe* spoon, *gaṇḍi* hole, *gaṇḍe* fish, *gantu* a jump, *gaggu* to shrink, *gaggulu* empty ears of corn, *gajja* groin, *gajju* fatness, *gaṭaka* gruel, *gaḍḍi* grass, *gatuku* to lap, as a dog, *gattamu* manure, *gaduru* to increase, *gaddari* impudent, *ganapa* large, *gannēru* oleander, *gabbi* big, thick, *gara* lump, clod, *garita* damsel, *garusu* gravel, *gavva* cowrie, *gāḍi* drinking trough, *gāḍu* lust, *gābu* jar for storing grain, *gāma* the young of an ant, *gāmiḍi*

cruel, hard, *giṭṭa* hoof, *gitta* a young bull, *ginumu* deception, *gibba* bull, *girupu* to twitch, *gilubu* theft, *gīlu* to flow, *gujju* pulp (also *gujuru*), *guniyu* to dangle, *gubbu* to be diffused, as smell, *gubaka* boss, knob, *gubulu* to spread, as scent, *gubbu* the beating of the heart, *gumma* spirt or gush, *gummaḍi* gourd, *gummamu* doorway, *gulla* shell or husk, *guvva* pigeon, *gūḷi* vulture, *geṇṭena* oleander, *geṇḍi* carp, *gettera* barren soil, *genayu*, *genusu* sweet potato, *gelivi* bloom, *gēde* she-buffalo, *goṅga* enemy, *goṅgaḍi* blanket, *goṇṭari* rogue, *goṇḍi* evil, *goṇḍili* gambols, *gontu* throat, *goggi* uneven, irregular, *godda* hunger, *goppa* great, *goraka* an iron arrow, *golla* shepherd, *govaru* heat, *gōgu* hemp, *gōdi* way, manner custom, *gōti* woman.

jañjaḍa nail or screw, *janṭa* pair, couple (cf. *danṭa*), *jakkara* river, *jakki* horse, *jagile* stone bench, *jaggu* brightness, prettiness, *jaḍi* flood, stream, *jalla* manger, *javaṭa javara* fibres of plantain tree, *jāgu* delay, *jāḍu* unripe maize, *jānu* graceful, pretty, *jānugu* ear, *jābura* name of a tree, *jāvaḍi* washerman, *jiṭṭa* sorrow, *jiḍḍi* a coarse cloth, *jittu* prank, *jiddu* enmity, *jimma* much, great, *jir̤r̤a* a whirling noice, *jilla* a bit of strick, *jīḍi* the sap of milk of mango, *jīla-kar̤r̤a* cummin-seed (cf. Skt. *jīraka-*), *jīluga* a kind of bird, *juñu* dishevelled hair, *jutta* short span, *junnu* honey, *jūka* haste, flurry, *jemuḍu* name applied to certain plants of the cactus family, *jella* a species of fish, *jelli* the plant "Arachis fruticosa", *jēga* a sort of crane or heron, *jēḍe* a marshy soil, *jompu* spring on a hill, *joggu* alms, also *jōgu*.

daṅgu be pounded or cleaned — *dañcu*, *dampu; daggu* cough, *daḍḍu* naked, *daddalamu* flat ceiling, *daniyu* to meet, unite, *danuku* to catch fire, *dappi*, *ḍappi* thirst, *dabba* citron tree, *dabbura*, *ḍabbura* cup, *dammu* mud, *davuḍa* jaw, *davva*

tender shoot, *dāka* kind of pot, *dāgu*, *dācu* to hide, *dābu* fear, *diṇṭena* bluebell, *dibbaḍamu* lid, *dīlu*, *ḍīlu* thin, *duṇḍagamu* wickedness, *dumpa* root, *dukki* ploughing, *duggu* musty straw, *dutta* jar, *duddu* pericarp of a lotus, *dunnu* to plough, *dunna* male buffalo, *dummu* bone, *duvvu* to comb, *dūku* to leap over, *dūḍa* calf, *dūdi* cotton, *dūpa* thirst, *dūyu* to enter, *deppamu* butt, target, *depparamu* difficulty, distress, *dēbe* wretch, *dēvu* to rinse, *doṅga* rogue, *doggali* "Amaranthus polygamus". *dodda* plunder. *dosagu* fear, *dōdu* bulky, *dōmaṭi* food, *dōra* heap, *dōru* expire, *dōsa* cucumber.

boṅku lane, *bagisi* a kind of tree, *baggi* ashes, *baccena* paint, *baṭamarulu* nostrils, *badda*, *bradda* fragment, *baṟṟe* she-buffalo, *bāki* wide, *bāgu* good, *bāju* a kind of hawk, *bāḍu* veil or covering, *bāri* annoyance, trouble, *bikki*, a certain tree, *bijugu* to tell lies, *bittaramu* flash of light, *bittala* nakedness, *binugu* hunter, *bimmaṭa* stupor, grief, *biḷḷa* disk, *buṅga* kind of pot, *bukkaḍamu* eel, *bugga* cheek, *buggi* ashes, *bucci* little, small, *buḍigi* small, squat, *burada* mud, *buruka* child, *buṟṟi* heifer, *buliyu* to be happy, *busi* ashes, *būgara* trash, *būju* mildew. *būda* milk vessel. *būra* trumpet, *būla* pith, *būsi* dirt, *beḍḍa* small stone, *beraḍu* bark of a tree, *bokku* to gobble, *boggu* charcoal, *boṭṭe* child, *boḍḍa* "Ficus glomerata", *boṇaga* small leather bottle, *bōda* swollen, *bōra* breast, chest. It is clear, then, that a large proportion of the Telugu and Kanarese words beginning with *g*, *j*, *d*, *b* have nothing to correspond with them in Tamil. Either then they are Dravidian words which Tamil has lost, or they have been acquired by Kanarese and Telugu from some extraneous source. The latter theory is maintained here, and its full demonstration will emerge with the discussion of the remaining points.

Telugu has far more of such words than Kanarese, which accords with the fact that in other respects, too, it differs a good deal more from Tamil than does Kanarese.

II

To the above list we must add those Telugu and Kanarese words which have indeed a corresponding form in Tamil and Malayalam, but one which turns out on closer examination to be merely a modern loanword. The reason for classifying them as such is that they are unknown to classical Tamil and occur only in the modern colloquial, comparatively modern texts or in local dialects. Here, as elsewhere in the articles, Tamil alone and not as a rule Malayalam is cited on the ground that since Malayalam is in effect only a dialectical variation of Tamil no matters of principle are involved which would be affected by citing it in each specific instance.

Examples of loanwords in Tamil coming under this heading are:-

Ta. *kaṭṭam* chin < Te. *gaḍḍamu*, *kaṭicu* asperity < Te. *gaḍusu; kaṭu*, *keṭu* fixed time, period < Ka. Tu. *gaḍu*, Te. *gaḍuvu*. In this case, as in some other loanwords of this nature, Mal. preserves the *g*–, *gaḍu*; Ta. *karicai* "garse" < Te. *garise*, Ka. *garase;* Ta. *karaṭi* fencing, sword-play < Te. *gariḍi*, Ka. *garuḍi; kavicaṉai*, wrapper, cover < Te. *gavisena; kiṇṭaṉ* a kind of coarse cloth < Ka. *giṇṭa*, Te. *giṇṭemu; kilukku*, *kiluṅku* rattle < Ka. *giluku*; *kuṭṭu* secret < Te. Ka. *guṭṭu*; *kuṭṭai* napkin < Te. *guḍḍa*; *kuppi* cowdung < Te. *gobbi; kumpi* mud < Te. *gummi* (?)*; kumpu* crowd <Te. *gumpu*; *kummaṭṭam* a small drum <Te. *gummeṭa; kumukku* to beat with fists < Te. *gumuku; kūṭai* basket <Te. *gūḍa*, Ka. Tu. *gūḍe*.

kūḷi ox < Ka. *gūḷi; kūṉai* a large earthen boiler < Te. *gūna; kekkali* to laugh violently < Te. *geggaliñcu; keccam* tinkling anklet < Te. Ka. *gajje; keṭṭam* beard <Te. *gaḍḍamu*, Ka. *gaḍḍa*; *keṭṭi* firmness, strength <Te. Ka. *gaṭṭi*; *kenṭan* strong man <Ka. Te. *ganḍa; kettu* wiles, tricks < Te. *gattu; kentu* to skip < Te. Ka. *gantu; keli* to win <Te. *gelucu*, Ka. Tu. *gel*; *kevi* cave, hollow < Te. Ka. *gavi*; *koppi* a game of young girls <Te. *gobbi*; *kōḷi* banyan <Ka. *gōḷi*.

cappai hips < Te. *jabba*; *callaṭai* sieve Te. *jalleḍa*, Ka. *jallaḍe*; *cōṭu* pair (of shoes, etc.) < Te. Ka. Tu. *jōḍu; cōli* concern, business, affair < Te. Ka. *jōli*; *cōḷikai* satchel <Te. *jōliya*, Ka. Tu. *jōḷige*; *tacci* kind of game <Te. Ka. *dacci*; *taṭṭi* drawers < Te. Ka. *daṭṭi*; *taṇḍai* wreath < Ka. *daṇḍe*; *tappaṇam* tacking needle < Te. *dabbanamu*, Ka. *dabbaṇa, dabbaḷa*; *tappaṟai* deception < Te. *dabbaṟa*; *tappili*, rogue < Te. *dabbili*; *tappai, ṭappai* split bamboo<Ka. *dabbe, ḍabbe, ḍebbe, debbe*, Te. *dabba*; *tappai* blow < Te. *debba; tikkāmalli* < Ka. *dikkāmalli* (a plant); *tikil* < Ka. *digil* fright, Te. *digulu*; *tiṭṭam* certainly < Te. *diṭṭamu*, Ka. *diṭṭa*; *tiṭṭi* window < Te. Ka. *diḍḍi*; *turavu* irrigation <Te. *doruvu; tūlam* beam < Te. *dūlamu*, Ka. *dūla*; *tūṟu* ill-report < Te. Ka. *dūṟu* (Mal. preserves the *d*–, *dūṟu*); *toṅgaṉ* thief < Te. *doṅga; toṭṭi* enclosure <Te. Ka. *doḍḍi*; *toppai* paunch < Te. *dobba*; *toṉṉai* cup of leaves < Ka. *donne*, Te. *donna*; *tōcai* kind of cake < Te. Ka. *dōse* (Mal. *dōśa*); *paṭṭāṇi* <Ka.Tu. *baṭāṇi* garden-pea; *pāku* beauty, charm <Te. *bāgu; pāṉai* pot < Te. *bāna*, Ka. *bāne* (Skt. *bhājana?*); *pigi* to be tight < Te. Ka. *bigi*; *puṭṭi* bottle< Te. Ka. *buḍḍi*; *pīṭu* waste land < Te. Ka. *bīḍu*; *pūṭṭakam* pretence < Te. *būṭakamu*, Ka. *būṭaka; pokkaṇam* wallet<Te. *bokkaṇamu*, Ka. *bokkaṇa*;

pokkai hole < Te. *bokka,* Ka. *bokke*; *poccai* paunch < Te. *bojja,* Ka. *bojje*; *poṭṭu* sectarian mark < Te. Ka. *boṭṭu*; *ponti* body < Te. Ka. *bondi* (cf. Pa. Prk. bondi); *pommai* doll < Te. *bomma,* Ka. *bombe*; *pōn* trap < Te. Ka. *bōnu.*

In some cases Tamil hesitates between *p* and *v* when original *b-* is represented in loanwords. Examples: *palappam* and *valappam* slate-pencil<Te. *balapamu*; *paṅkāram* and *vaṅkāram* gold<Te. *baṅgāramu*; *paṇṭi* and *vaṇṭi* cart<Te.Ka. *baṇḍi*; *pacaḷai* and *vacaḷai* spinach <Ka. *basaḷe*; *pīkam* and *vīkam* >Te. *bīgamu,* Ka. *bīga* lock.

III

There are a considerable number of cases where Telugu and Kanarese do not agree in the matter of voicing. Naturally such instances have to be ruled out as evidence for antiquity of the sonants. Examples where Kanarese shows voicing while Telugu does not are: Ka. *garuvali* wind, Te. *karuvali*; Ka. *giḍa, giḍu* tree, Te. *ceṭṭu,* Ta. Ma. *ceṭi,* Ka. also *ceṭṭu*; Ka. *giṇi, giḷi* parrot, Ta. *kiḷi* also *kiḷḷai,* Te. *ciluka*; Ka. *guḍi* point, tip, banner, Te. *koḍi,* Ta. *koṭi,* Ka. also *kuḍi*; Ka. *gedalu* white ant, Ta. *citalai,* Te. *ceda;* Ka. *jinugu* to drizzle, Te. *cinuku*; Ka. *jimmaṇḍe* a cricket, also *cimmaṇḍe,* Te. *cimmaṭa*; Ka. *jilli* hole in an earthen vessel, Te. Ta. *cilli,* Ta. also *illi;* Ka. *jēnu* honey, also *tēnu,* Te. *tēne,* Ta. Ma. *tēn*; Ka. *jollu* saliva, Te. *collu,* also *jollu.* In some cases, as will be noticed, Kanarese itself shows a variant unvoiced form, e. g. *tēnu* besides *jēnu.* The evidence for the secondary nature of the voicing is in such cases quite overwhelming.

Secondly, Telugu shows a voiced and Kanarese an unvoiced form. Examples: Ta. *kaḻutai* donkey, Ka. *kaḻte,*

Te. *gāḍida*; Ta. *kātal* love, Ka. *kādal*, Te. *gādili;* Ta. *kuṭai* umbrella, Ka. *koḍe*, Te. *goḍugu*; Ka. *kunni* young of an animal, Te. *gunna*, also *kūna*; Ta. *kuruṭu* blindness, Ka. *kuruḍu*, Te. *g(r)uḍḍi*; Ta. *kuḻi* pit, Ka. *kuḻi*, Te. *g(r)oyyi*; Ta. *kōvaṇam* loincloth, Ka. *kōvaṇa*, Te. *govaṇamu*, Skt. *kaupīna*; Ta. *caṇal*, *caṇappu* hemp, Ka. *saṇabu*, Te. *janumu*, Skt. *śaṇa*; Ta. *cēri* street, Ka. *kēri*, Te. *gēri*; Ta. *koṟi* sheep, Ka. *kuṟi*, Te. *goṟṟe*.

A few of the words in question appear in Sanskrit with an unvoiced initial, a fact which is in favour of its priority, e. g.:-

Ta. *kañci* rice-gruel, Te. Tu. Ka. *gañji*, Skt. *kāñcika* (L.), *kāñjika* (Suśr.), *kāñjī* (L.), *kāñjīka* (L.); Ta. *kuṭi* house, hut, Ka. Te. *guḍi* Skt. *kuṭi* (Ep.); Ta. *kuṇṭu* depth, hollow, pit, pond, also *kuṭṭam* in same sense, cf. *kuḻi* pit, Ka. *kuṇṭe* pit, pond, also *guṇḍa*, *guṇḍi*, cf. *kuḻi*, *kuṇi*, Te. *kuṇṭa* also *guṇṭa* pit, hole, Skt. *kuṇḍa* fire-hole; Ta. *cāṭi* pot, Te. Tu. Ka. *jāḍi*, Pali *cāṭi*; Ta. Ka. *palli* lizard, Te. *balli*, Skt. *palli*; Te. Ka. *gujju* dwarf, Skt. *kubja*, Pa. Pr. *khujja*, an older form of which is represented by Ka. *kuṟucu*, Te. *kuṟuca* dwarfish, from Drav. *kuṟu* short; cf. also *caṇal*, etc., and *kōvaṇam*, etc., above.

The above may be regarded as Dravidian loans in Sanskrit, but whatever view of the precise relationship Sanskrit offers useful contributory evidence for the priority of the unvoiced initial and the secondary nature of the voicing in Telugu and Kanarese.

Examples of secondary voicing in Telugu and Kanarese are also to be found in a number of *tbhs.*, e.g. Te. *gajjuramu* date tree < Skt. *kharjūra*; Te. *gamburamu* camphor < Skt.

kārpūra; Te. Ka. *gāju* glass <Skt. *kāca*; Te. Ka. *guddali* hoe <Skt. *kuddāla*; Te. *gēdagi, gēdaṅgi* "Pandanus odoratissimus" < Skt. *kētaka*; Te. Ka. *gēli* ridicule <Skt. *kēli*; Te. *goḍḍali* axe < Skt. *kuṭhāra*; here the initial in Ka. *koḍali* agrees with Skt.; Te. Ka. *banti* series < Skt. *paṅkti*. The connection is somewhat less clear in the case of Te. *gōḍa*, Ka. *gōḍe* wall cf. Skt. *kuḍya*: Te. *gajji* itch, cf. Skt. *kacchu*; Ka. *gaṇṭalu* throat, cf. Skt. *kaṇṭha*; Te. *balla* plank, cf. Skt. *phalaka*; Te. *baṭṭa*, Ka. *baṭṭe* cloth, clothes are considered to be *tbhs*. of *vastra*, but they might be drived from *paṭṭa*, in which case they are to be added to this list.

In addition we may point out instances where the individual languages Telugu and Kanarese show hesitation between the voiced and unvoiced forms. Examples in Telugu: Te. *korije* hoof, also *gorije, gorise* Ka. *gorasu, gorise*, Ta. *kuraccai, kuracu* (probably lw.), cf. Skt. *khura*; Te. *gaḷḷa* and *kaḷḷa* phlegm; Te. *gaḍucu* and *kaḍucu* to pass, of time; Te. *gaṇupu* and *kaṇupu* knuckle, joint of bamboo, etc., Ka. *gaṇal, gaṇike*, Ta. *kaṇu*; *guṇṭa* and *kuṇṭa* pit (above); *collu* and *jollu* saliva, Ka. *jollu*, Ta. *coḷḷu*; *dinne* hillock, also *tinne*, Ka. *diṇṇe, dinne*, Ta. *tiṇṇai*; *dōgu* and *tōgu* to become wet, Ta. *tōy* Ka. *tō*, Skt. *tōya* water (lw. < Dr.); *begguru* and *pegguru* the bird called adjutant crane.

Such fluctuation is a good deal commoner in Kanarese than in Telugu: Ka. *kampu* fragrance, also *gampu*, cf. *gabbu, garbu*, Te. *kampu, gabbu, gammu*, Ta. cf. *kamaḻ*; Ka. *giṭṭu* to be obtained, to be pressed closely one to the other, also *gīṭu, kiṭṭu*, cf. *kiḍu*, Te. *giṭṭu* to suit, agree, meet, *kiṭṭu* to approach, draw near, Ta. *kiṭṭu*; Ka. *gīṟu* to scratch, *gīju, gīku*, also *kīṟu*, Te. *gīku, gīcu, gīṟu*, Ta. *kīṟu*; Ka. *gujju* prop, also *kūcu*,

Te. *kuruca, guñja*; *guṭuku* gulp, also *kuṭuku*, Te. *guṭuku*; *guḍi, kuḍi* circle, Te. *guḍi*; *guḍi, kuḍi* point, banner, Te. *koḍi*, Ta. *koṭi*; *guṇṭa, gūṭa, gūṇṭa, kūṭa* peg, Te. *gūṭamu*; *gudi* to jump, cf. *kuduku*, Ta. *kuti*; Ka. *guddu, gurdu* = Te. *guddu, gruddu* is probably to be regarded as quite a different word from Ta. Ka. *kuttu, kottu* to strike; Ka. *gummu* to cuff = *kummu*; Ka. *gūnu* hump, also *kūn, kūnu*, Ta. *kūṉ*, Te. *gūnu*; Ka. *geḍe* touching; match, derivative of Ka. *kiḍu*, cf. Ta. *kiṭai*; Ka. *geṇe, geḷe* union, also *keḷe*; Ka. *gerase* and *kerase* a flat bamboo basket; Ka. *gere* a scratch, streak, *kere* to scratch, Te. *sera*; Ka. *kēr* and *gēr* the marking-nut tree, Ta. *cēr*, Te. somewhat divergently *jīḍi*, a difference which suggests the word may be of extraneous origin; Ka. *goṭṭa* and *koṭṭa* a bamboo tube, Te. *goṭṭamu*; *goṇḍe* tuft, tassel, also *koṇḍe*, Te. *koṇḍe*, Ta. *koṇṭai* (lw.); *gorapa* and *korapa* curry comb, Te. *koṟapamu* and *gorapamu*, Ta. *kurappam* (lw.).

Initial *j*– alternates with either *s, c*, or *t*. Examples: *jajju* and *caccu* to crush; *jane* the yolk of an egg, also *tane, tene, sene*, Te. *cene, jene, jane*, Ta. *ciṉai*; *jaragu* to slip, slide, also *saraku*, Te. *jarugu*, cf. Ka. *sari* to move, slip, Ta *cari* and also Te. Ka. *jāṟu*, Ta. *cāṟu*; Ka. *jāga* and *cāga* the colour green; Ka. *jāḻige* and *sāḻige* cloth, garment. cf. Skt. *śāṭaka*; *jiṭṭi* and *ciṭṭe* grasshopper; Ka. *jīṟu* and *cīṟu* to scream, also *gīṟu*; Ka. *cuṅgu* the end of a turban sticking out, also *juṅgu*, Te. *cuṅgu* and *ceṅgu*, Ta. *cuṅgu* (lw.); Ka. *jūpaṟu* and *tūpaṟu* drizzle; Ka. *jēnu* and *tēnu* honey, Te. *tēne*, Ta. *tēṉ*; *joṇḍiga* and *toṇḍaṅgi* cockroach; Ka. *jōba* a lazy man, *jōmu* torpidity, Ta. *cōmbu* to be idle, Te. *sōmari* a slothful person, Ka. *sōmāri*, Te. *sommu* swoon, torpidity; Ka. *jōru* to flow, also *sōru*, Ta. *cōru*: Ka. *daḍi* and *taḍi* staff, Ta. *taḍi*; Ka. *daṇi* to be appeased, become tired = *taṇi* to grow cool, be

appeased, become fatigued, from Ta. Ka. *taṇ* cool; Ka. *taddu* and *daddu* ringworm = Skt. *dadrū*; Ka. *diḍḍu*, hillock, also *tiṭṭu*, Ta. *tiṭṭai*, Te. *tiṭṭa*; *bacca* and *pacca* greenness; Ka. *buṭṭi* and *puṭṭi* a basket; *būci* and *pūci* worm.

For the full evaluation of this fluctuation a more detailed investigation would be necessary; we should like to know, namely, to what extent the differences correspond to differences of dialect and also to what extent some forms are earlier than others. Even without this, however, it is quite clear in enough instances that the voicing is secondary. For instance, Te. *dōgu* and *tōgu* to become wet, Ta. *tōy*, Ka. *tō*, Skt. lw. *tōya* water; here both Ka. and a fairly ancient loanword in Sanskrit agree with the alternative form *tōgu* evidence which, of course, is quite overwhelming in favour of its priority. Or take again Ka. *guḍi* point, flag, also *kuḍi*. Here Telugu *koḍi* backs up the variant form with *k*- and very strong reasons indeed would have to be adduced to outweigh it. Such, of course, do not exist. Likewise in the case of Ka. *jēnu* honey, also *tēnu*, Te. *tēne*, Ta. *tē<u>n</u>*, and others. Or' again, a derivative form may show the voicing where the word it is derived from does not. For instance, we have *daṇi* as well as *taṇi* derived from *taṇ* cool, which word itself shows no voicing. Ka. *geḍe* is a derivative of *kiḍu* which always appears with *k*-. The fact that in many of these forms the voicing is secondary lends support to the view that also where voiced and unvoiced forms are more evenly divided the unvoiced forms are original.

IV

Examples enough have been quoted already under the previous headings of cases where the voicing in Telugu or

Kanarese is demonstrable; namely, where Sanskrit has the word and shows initial surd, where the voicing occurs only as a variant form in one language and where a derivative form shows voicing while the word from which it derived does not. Examples are set forth above and there is no need to repeat them here. A few other cases may be mentioned: Te. *bebbuli* < tiger *perum-puli* lit. "big tiger". The word for big *peru-*, of course, has *p-* in all the languages (Te. *pedda*); it has become corrupted in this word which though originally a compound is no longer felt as such. Similarly *beggōḍi* a kind of wild fowl. There are a number of instances like the above where an *r* has been assimilated to a succeeding consonant and voicing of the initial occurs: Te. *diddu* to rectify, Ka. *tiddu, tirdu*, Ta. *tiruttu*, derived from Ta. *tiru*; Te. *g(r)uḍḍi* blind, Ka. *kuruḍi, kuḍḍi*, Ta. *kuruṭaṉ*; Te. Ka. *gujju* dwarfish, if derived from *kuṟu-* short; Skt. *kubja*, M. I. *khujja*, is probably borrowed from the Dravidian word; Ka. *gubbi* a small bird, Ta. *kuruvi*; Ka. *gajjuga* molucca-bean, Ta. *kaḻaṟci* (also *kaḻal, kaḻaṅku*), Te. *gacca*. It does not, however, seem possible to make a rule out of this on account of examples to the contrary: in Ka. *tiddu, kuḍḍi* above, and others, in Te. for instance *pedda* "big" (< **perda*).

For a quite different reason we find evidence of secondary voicing in two Kanarese verbs: *gey* to do appears as well as *key*, also *geyme* action besides *keyme*. Here the voicing is obviously due to the word being used as an auxiliary verb, in which case the initial gets treated as at the beginning of the second member of a compound. The same applies to Te. Ka. *guṟi* mark, aim, object, Te. *guṟiñcu* to aim at, Ka. also *kuṟi*, aim: to aim, Ta. *kuṟi*. Here the voicing is due to the past indeclinable participle of this verb being used

frequently as a postposition, Ta. *kuṟittu,* Te. *guriñci*, etc., meaning "with reference to, concerning". The frequency of this usage has led to the voicing in other forms where it is not justified as it is here by the rules of sandhi.

In Telugu *gōru* nail the initial *g–* was originally medial, as seen in Ta. *ukir*, Ka. *ugur*. The same is the case with Te. *ḍigu, digu* to descend, cf. Ta. *iḻi–*.

There are only a few comparisons that have not been enumerated under the previous Ta. *kulai* cluster, as of fruits, Ka. *gole,* Te. *gola,* Ta. *kūkai* owl, Ka. *gūgi, gūge, gūbe,* Te. *gūbi, gūba.* Here for once Sanskrit backs up Te. and Ka. with *ghūka.* Since *kūkai* appears already in Sangam Tamil and is only very late in Sanskrit, we may regard it as original in Dravidian and a loanword in Sanskrit. Ta. *kūṭu* nest, Te. Ka. Tu. *gūḍu.* If this, as is likely, is from Ta. *kūṭu* to collect, gather together, Ka. Te. *kūḍu,* the initial *g–* is certainly secondary, because the verb appears with initial *k–* in all the three languages. Ta. *cāṇ* span, as a measure = nine inches, Te. *jāna* or *jēna,* Ka. *gēṇ.* The word does not seem to occur very early in Tamil. Ka. Te. *jalli,* whisk, tassel, Ka. also *jhalli,* Ta. *calli,* which occurs already in the *Maṇimēkhalai,* but it may be an early loan word.

To prove the existence of initial sonants in primitive Dravidian, it would be necessary to demonstrate that a considerable number of regular correspondences existed in which Ka. Te. agreed in showing the voiced initial. We should expect this to appear, naturally, in many common words and verbal roots, and also to be confirmed by the remaining Dravidian language. We find on the other hand that hardly

a single common verb in the three languages satisfies this condition (except Ka. *gey* and *guṟi* which have been discussed above), that Kanarese and Telugu show large numbers of words beginning with sonants, which have no correspondences in Tamil at all, and that such correspondences as occur, after removing obvious loanwords, are self-contradictory and confused, with a fair proportion of instances where secondary voicing is obvious; there are practically no examples which for some reason or other do not fall under suspicion. As for the other Dravidian languages, they all indeed possess the voiced stops in abundance; but the words in which they occur will have nothing to correspond with them in Tamil, or in Kanarese and Telugu either, and for the most part they differ among each other.

The conclusions to be drawn from the evidence as analysed above are then:-

Tamil alone among the Dravidian languages represents the state of affairs in the parent language in this matter. Telugu and Kanarese have for reasons that are obscure in most instances introduced secondary voicing into primitive Dravidian words. At the same time a large percentage of words beginning with the voiced stops in these languages are of extra-Dravidian origin. We must assume the existence of some substrate language to account for these, and, in fact, for the existence of initial sonants at all. Telugu has gone much further in this way than Kanarese. Very much greater is the foreign element in the Northern Dravidian languages, where the really Dravidian element in vocabulary has been considered as reduced. Except in the case of Brahui the origin of this is not known.

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES–II*

NOTES ON THE INTERCHANGE OF SHORT *o* AND *e* WITH *i* AND *u* in SOUTH DRAVIDIAN

It is well known that in a great number of words *e* and *o* in Kanarese, Tuḷu, and Telugu correspond to *i* and *u* in Tamil and Malayalam.

e. g. :–

Tām.	Mal.	Kan.	Tul.	Tel.
ilai, leaf	*ila*	*ele*	*ele*	—
iṟaṅku, descend	*iṟaṅṅu*	*eṟagu*	*eraguni*	*erãgu*
iḷa, young	*iḷa*	*eḷa*	*eḷe*	*ela, lẽ*
tirai, wave	*tira*	*tere*	—	*tera*
niṉai, think	*ninayu-*	*nene*	*nene-pu*	—
piṇaṅku, be twisted together, fight	*piṇaṅṅu*	*peṇagu*	—	*penãgu*
viḷaṅku, to shine	*viḷaṅṅu*	*beḷagu*	*beḷagu-*	*velũgu*
uṭal, body	*uṭal*	*oḍal[u]*	*uḍal, oḍal*	*oḍalu*
uṟai, scabbard	*uṟa*	*oṟe*	*ore*	*oṟa*
ulai, forge	*ula*	*ole*	*ule*	—
kuṭai, umbrella	*kuṭa*	*koḍe*	*koḍe*	*goḍugu*
putar, putal, thicket	—	*podṟ[u]*	*pudel*	*podaru, poda*
mutal, first	*mutal*	*modal[u]*	—	*modalu*

With reference to this interchange K. V. Subbayya in his "Primer of Dravidian Phonology", published in the *Indian Antiquary*, lays down the following rule: "*i* before

* BSOAS X[1940–42]

cerebrals and liquids and followed by *a* becomes *e* in Classical Canarese, Tuḷu and Telugu and also in New Tamil and New Malayalam"[1]. Likewise with respect to *u* and *o* he says[2]: "Pr. Drav. initial *u* becomes *o* when followed by *a* and before cerebrals and liquids. This change is found in classical Can., Tel. and Tuḷu, and also in New Tamil and Malayalam". This formulation is faulty in as much as there is no restriction on the consonants intervening between the *i* or *u* and the following *a*-vowel. Whatever consonant comes between, the result is just the same, e. g.:-

Ta.	*ivar* to rise	Ka.	*egaru*		
Ta.	*itaḻ* petal	Ka.	*esaḷ*		
Ta.	*pukai* smoke	Ka.	*poge*	Tel.	*poga*
Ta.	*tuvar* scarlet	Ka.	*togaru*	Tel.	*togaru*

and so forth. Likewise the restriction to initial *u* [and *i*] is unjustified as is evident from examples already quoted.

Dealing with this question in his Materials for a Sketch of Tuḷu Phonology L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar formulates the following rule[3]:-

"There is a rule in South Dravidian where by a short radical *i* [of words of more than one syllable] followed by an open vowel in the next syllable is replaced by *e*: the operation of this rule is restricted to derivative words only and, further, the change occurs only when in the above circumstances the consonant immediately following the radical vowel is a short one. The literary varieties of Tamil and Mal. show in the above circumstances the *i*- forms, while the colloquials show

1. I.A., Vol. 38 [1909], p. 167.
2. Ibid., p. 170.
3. "Indian Linguistics" [Bulletin of Linguistic Society of India, Lahore], Vol. vi, [1986], p. 432.

e–words; in Kann. and Tel., even the literary speeches have accepted a number of *e*–forms. Tuḷu shows forms with *i* and *e* side by side in some cases, and those with *e* alone in others." Later he lays down the same rule for *u* > *o*[1]: "In circumstances similar to those described for *i* > *e* above, there exists in South Dr. a change of *u* > *o* also. Tuḷu shows forms with *u* and *o* side by side in some cases, and words with *o* alone in others."

There are some inaccuracies here. To say that "in Kann. and Tel. even the literary speeches have accepted a number of *e*–forms", is very much of an under statement. In effect, whenever such a divergence exists the Telugu and Kanarese literary languages show almost exclusively *e*– and *o*– forms, and that from the earliest times.

Again, to restrict the operation of the rule to cases where a single consonant intervenes between the *i* or *u* and the following *a*– vowel, appears hardly justified in view of a number of examples to the contrary :–

Ta. *puṉṉai* Calophyllum Inophyllum, Te. *ponna*, Kan. *ponne*; Ta. *muṭṭai* egg, Ka. *moṭṭe*; Ta. *mullai* Jasmine, Ka. *molle*, Te. *molla*.

On the other hand in the case of Ta. *piḷḷai* child, Ka. *piḷḷe*, Te. *pilla*, we find no change. Actually in this case examples are not at all numerous, which makes it difficult to generalize satisfactorily.

So much for the conditions of the interchange. What remains to be discussed is the question as to which in these

1. Ibid., p. 433.

cases is original *i* and *u* or *o* and *e*. So far it has been taken for granted that *i* and *u* are original and *e* and *o* secondary.[1] Considering the fact that in modern Tamil and Malayalam, in the spoken languages, we see a development of *i* > *e* and *u* > *o*, thus bringing them into line with Kanarese and Telugu, this certainly seems at a superficial glance to be the case. On further examination of the evidence, however, the situation appears by no means so simple.

The starting-point of our inquiry is the state of affairs described above: Radical *i* and *u* in Tamil when followed in the next syllable by *a* or *ai*[= Kan. *e*, Tel. *a*] correspond to *e* and *o* in Telugu and Kanarese. In these positions Kanarese and Telugu do not admit of *i* and *u*. In like manner Tamil [with Mal.] does not, except for a few exceptions which will be dealt with below, admit of *e* and *o*. Thus none of the languages admits of the two sets of vowels in these positions. In other positions, namely before *i* and *u*, both sets exist independently and have no connection with each other. Thus in Tamil: *iṭu* to put, *eṭu* to raise; *iri* to retreat, *eri* fire; *ciṟu* small, *ceṟu* to restrain; *tiri* to turn, *teri* to be clear; *viḷi* to call, *veḷi* outside; *uḷi* chisel, *oḷi* light; *kuṭi* house, *koṭi* banner; *puli* tiger, *poli* to shine; *putu* new, *potu* common, etc. Likewise for Telugu. In Kanarese a change, which will be discussed later, has resulted in a confusion of these two sets so that *i* and *u* are exclusively used in these positions. That however is a purely local and special change and the normal Dravidian state of affairs is that just illustrated.

Thus in all the languages under discussion, while *e* is admitted as well us *i*, and *o* as well as *u*, when followed by

1. Cf, besides the authorities quoted above, E. H. Tuttle, Dravidian Developments, 17.

i or *u*, in other positions, namely before *a* and *ai*[=*e*, *a*], either one set may be chosen, or the other, but they cannot co-exist in any of the languages preserved. This being the case it is quite possible that the same rule applied to the parent language also, in which case to argue about the priority of *e* and *o* or *i* and *u* would be pointless since nothing so definite can be said about the phonetics of a reconstructed language, and the reconstructed sounds are in the main to be regarded as convenient symbols.

Obviously then, no progress is to be made by comparing merely the words themselves in question in the different languages. There remains, however, one profitable method of approach, namely, to compare them with kindred words in which the radical *i*[*e*] and *u*[*o*] are not followed by *a* or *ai*. A result of such juxtaposition is to see immediately that in these cases original *i* and *e* are confused as *i* in Tamil and Malayalam and as *e* in Kanarese and Telugu. The same, of course, applies to *o* and *u*. It will be convenient first to present the material :-

Ta. *ilaṅku*, *ilaku* to shine: *el* light, lustre.

Ta. *iḷa* young, tender, soft. Ka. *eḷa*, *eḷe*, Te. *ela*, *lē*, Ta. *iḷaku* to grow soft, weak, *iḷai* to grow weary, become thin: Ta. *eḷi* easy, slight, weak.

Ta. *ciṟai* restraint. prison, Te. *ceṟa* : Ta. *ceṟu* to restraint.

Ta. *civa* to become red, *civappu* redness: *ce*-, *cem* red, Ka. *ke*-, *kem*.

Ta. *piṇaval* female of the dog, pig, deer, or yak, *piṇā*, *piṇavu* woman, *piṇai* female of animals: Ta. *peṇ* woman, Ka. *peṇ*, *peṇḍa*.

Ta. *piṟa* to be born, be produced: Ta. *peṟu* to obtain, bring forth, bear [as children], Ka. *peṟ, peru.*

Ta, *viḷaṅku* to shine, *viḷakku* light, *viḷar* to become white, whiteness, Ka. *baḷagu* to shine, *beḷaku* light, *beḷar* white colour, Te. *velũgu* to shine: Ta. *veḷ* white, bright, *veḷḷi* whiteness, silver, *veḷḷai* whiteness, *veḷiṟu* to grow white, whiteness, Ka. *beḷ* white, *beḷpu* whiteness, *beḷḷi* silver, Te. *vella* white.

In the ease of *u* and *o* :-

Ta. *uṭai* to break, Ka. *oḍe* : Ta. *oṭi* to break, Ka. *oḍi.*

Ta. *uṭaṉ* with, Ka. *oḍan* : Ta. *oṭu* with (termination of the third case).

Ta. *uḷavu* secrecy, Ka. *oḷavu, oḷagu,* Te. *oḷavu* : Ta. *oḷi* to hide, Ka. *uḷi* < **oḷi.*

Ta. *kuṭa* curved, bent, *kuṭaṅku* to bend, *kuṭā* bend, curve, *koṭu* crooked, Ka. *kuḍu* (< **koḍu*).

Ta. *kuḻa* young, *kuḻaku* youthfulness, *kuḻantai* child, *kuḻavi* child, Ka. *koṇasu* a young one of wild beasts, *koḍa* yonng, Te. *koḍuku* son : Ta. *kuḻuntu* tender shoot, anything young, tenderness, Tuḷu *korndụ* tender.

Ta. *kuyam* sickle: *koy* to reap.

Ta. *cura* to flow: Ta. *cori* to flow, Ka. *suri* (< **sori*).

Ta. *tuyaṅku* to be exhausted, faint(,) *tuyar* affliction, sorrow, *tuyavu* mental distraction, perturbation: Ta. *toy* to languish, grow weak.

Ta. *tuḷai* hole, Ka. *toḷe* : Ta. *toḷ* to perforate. *toḷḷai* hole, Ka. *toḷḷe*.

Ta. *putar* bush, thicket, *putal* id,, Ka. *podaṟu*, Tuḷu *pudel*, Tel. *poda*, *podaru* : Ta. *potumpu* grove, shubby jungle.

Ta. *puṭai* to beat, thresh, Ka. *poḍe*: Ta. *poṭi* to break to pieces, pulverize; powder.

Ta. *putai* to bury, cover, clothe, Ka. *pode* : Ta. *pottu* to bury, cover, Ta. *poti* to hide, cover up, treasure, Ka. *pudi* (< **podi*).

Ta. *purai* to resemble : *poru* to come into contact with, to resemble, *poruntu* to agree with, etc.

Ta. *muyaṅku* to embrace, cling to : *moy* to crowd togetner press, throng.

Ta. *muḻaṅku* to make a noise, roar, Ka. *moḷagu*. Te. *mrõgu* : Ta. *moḻi* to speak.

In the above list of parallel forms it is obvious that in Tamil *i* and *u*, in the words in which they occur, must have arisen out of *e* and *o*. That conclusion is necessary because, as pointed out above, both *i* and *e*, also *u* and *o*, exist in words in which they are followed by *i* and *u*, whereas only *i* and *u* exist when there is *a* or *ai* in the next syllable. Therefore, in the *o*– and *e*– forms there is nothing to cause a change out of *u* and *i*, whereas the non-existence of *e* and *o* in Tamil in positions where an *a*– vowel appears in the next syllable, proves that there has actually been a change *e* > *i* and *o* > *u* in the examples quoted above. Tamil *viḷakku*, therefore, must be out of **veḷakku uṭai* < **oṭai* and so forth, and in these cases the vocalization in Kan. and Tel. represents the original.

The statement that *i* and *u* are exclusively used in Tamil when *a* or *ai* follows in the next syllable is to be qualified by some exceptions, which, however do not impair the validity of the general rule. In the first place, when *-a* or *ai* appears in the inflexion of a word the rule does not operate. Thus from *poṟu* to bear, the infinitive is *poṟa*, the verbal noun *poṟal* and so forth. This applies also to derivatives in *-ai* thus *poṟai* burden, *kolai* slaying from *kol* to kill, etc. Here, as naturally to be expected, either the change did not take place, or having taken place, was effaced by the influence of primary forms which correctly retained the *o*.

Other exceptions are:–

peyar[1] name, Ka. *pesar*. Here the intervening *-y-* has probably had a restraining influence. It is instructive to compare the different treatment in *viyar* sweat. This word is probably derived from *ve-* hot, which would mean that *e* is original. The word appears in Kanarese as *bevar*, also *bemar*. The Tamil *viyar* is therefore <**vivar* <**vevar*. The difference of treatment to that of *peyar* is therefore due to a different consonant having originally intervened. The change *v*>*y* must be due to dissimilation because it does not occur in other similar instances, e.g., *civa* to become red <**ceva*.

Another exception is *peṭai* hen, Mal. *piṭa* also *peṭa*. There appears no particular reason for *e* here and it is probably dialectical.

As regards *o*>*u* there is a small group of words in which the expected change has not taken place: *toṭaṅku* to begin,

1 The Tamil Lexicon quotes *piyar* from an inscription, which also occurs in old Malayalam. E. H. Tuttle [*Dravidian Developments*, § 23], wrongly regards *piyar* as the older form.

toṭar to connect, *tolai* to destroy, and *toḷai* hole. In these cases forms with *u* also occur, but are not the prevalent forms, except perhaps *tuḷai*. In Malayalam, however, forms with *u* exclusively occur: *tuṭaṅṅu* to begin, *tuṭar* to connect, *tulavu* to destroy, *tuḷa* hole. It is not quite clear what has prevented the operation of the general rule. Probably the particular combination of consonants before and after the vowel had some influence on its quality.

Such are the main exceptions. Clearly they do not invalidate the general rule, nor the conclusion that necessarily follows from it, namely that in the list of forms quoted above Tamil *i* and *u* are out of original *e* and *o*. The general assumption then that Primitive Dravidian *i* and *u*>*e* and *o* in these positions in Telugu and Kanarese is definitely disproved for the examples quoted above. Primitive *e* and *o* on the contrary become *i* and *u* in Tamil and Malayalam in these examples.

We cannot, however, simply reverse the statement and assume that wherever *e* and *o* in Kanarese and Telugu correspond to *i* and *u* in Tamil in these positions, they represent the original. Because just as it has been proved that there are cases in which original *e* and *o*>*i* and *u* in Tamil and Malayalam, in like manner examples can be quoted in which original *i* and *u*>*e* and *o* in Kanarese and Telugu. The demonstration is on the same lines, namely by comparing kindred words [words from the same root] in which the radical vowel [*i* or *u*] is not followed by an *a*- sound. As examples we may quote:-

Ka. *eraḍu* two, Ta. *iraṇṭu*: here the original *i* supported by forms throughout the Dravidian languages; Tamil *iru*-,

Ka. *ir–*, Te. *iru–*, Gondi *irur* [beside *raṇḍ*] Kolāmī *iddar*, Kuru<u>kh</u> *irb*, Malto *iwr*, Brahui *irā*, *iraṭ*.

Ka. *eḍa*, *eḍe* place, Te. *eḍamu*, Ta. *iṭam* : cf. Ta. *iṭu* to put, Te. Ka. *iḍu*.

Ka. *eḻe* to pull; thread, Ta. *iḻai* to spin; thread: Ta. *iḻu* to pull, Ka. *iḻ*.

Ka. *kela* a few, Ta. *cila* : Ta. *cil* little, few; cf. Ka. *kiṟu*, Ta. *ciṟu* small.

Ka. *teraḷu* to become round, Ta. *tiraḷ* to become round; a ball, a round mass: cf. Ta. *tiri* to turn, revolve, Ka. *tiri*, *tirigu*, Te. *tiri*, *tirugu*.

Ka. *tenasu* beside, *tinasu* food, Tu. *tenasu* and *tinasu* : Ta. *tiṉ* to eat, Ka. *tin*, etc.

Ka. *nela* earth, *nele* standing, place of residence, etc., Tu. *nela* earth, Te. *nelavu* place, residence, etc., Ta. *nilam*, *nilai* : all derived from the common root *nil* to stand.

Ka. *peṇe* to unite, intertwine, *peṇagu* to be entangled, to quarrel, Ta. *piṇai*, *piṇaṅku*, Te. *penãgu*, *pena* : Ta *piṇi* to bind.

Ka. *neḻal* shade, Ta. *niḻal* : Ta. *nīḻal*, Te. *nīda*. The long *ī* in the Tamil and Telugu forms shows the *i* to be original and Ka. *e* secondary.

Ka. *bele* price, Te. *vela*, Ta. *vilai* : Ta. *vil* to sell, Ka. *bil*, Te. *vilucu*.

Ka. *oṟe* sheath, Te. *oṟa*, Tu. *ore*; Ta. *uṟai* place of residence, cover, receptacle; to reside : Ta. *uṟu* to be in or at Ka. *uṟu*.

Ka. *koṟate* deficiency, Te. *korāta* : Ta. *kuṟu* short, *kuṟṟam* deficiency, fault, Ka. *kuṟu*, Te. *kuṟu*.

Ka. *posa* new: Ta. *putu, putiya*.

Ka. *modal[u]* first, Te. *modalu*, Ta. *mutal*: Ta. *mutu* old, Ka. *mudu*[1].

Ka. *mone* point, extremity, end, Te. mona, Ta. *munai* : Ta. *muṉ* in front, Ka. *mun*, Te. *munu, munnu*.

Examples of the change *i*>*e* and *u* to *o* under these conditions are also to be found in a number of loan-words from Indo-Aryan, e.g.:-

Telugu: *gonamu*<*guṇa*, *komaru*<*kumāra-*, *kolamu*<*kula*.

Kanarese: *bojaṅga*<*bhujaṅga-*, *soga*<*sukha-*, *tovari*< *tuvari*, *devasa*<*divasa*, *dese*<*diśā*, *soṇaga*<*śunaka*, *poḍavi*< Pkt. *puḍhavī* earth.

In other examples the Dravidian words are probably original and the Sanskrit borrowed. Thus, Ka. *koḍa*, Ta. *kuṭam*: Skt. *kuṭa* pot; Ka. *moga*, Te. *mogamu*, Ta. *mukam* : Skt. *mukha* face.

The rule may therefore be stated simply as follows: Original radical *i* and *e*, likewise *u* and *o*, are confused when followed in the next syllable by an *a-* vowel. In Tamil and Malayalam they are represented by *i* and *u* and in Kanarese and Telugu by *e* and *o* respectively. Since this confusion is common to all the languages concerned, we may assume in

1 The meaning of "old" and "first" are combined also in Drav. *tol*. See Kittel, *Kan. Dict. S. V. tom*. He gives as meanings: "The state of being first or the first, the former, previous, old."

all probability that it had already taken place in the parent language itself. That is, of course, much more likely than to assume an independent and parallel development in each individual language. Whether in this case the parent language showed *i* and *u* or *e* and *o*, it is not possible to say and is of no great importance, since it is important to know only the original vowel which was there before the confusion took place. This can be done as we have seen when cognate words exist in which the vowel in question is not followed by *a*-. There are, however, a large number of words for which no such related word can be pointed out, e.g.:–

Ta. *itaḻ* petal	Ka. *esaḻ*
Ta. *imai* eyelid	Ka. *eme*
Ta. *ilai* leaf	Ka. *ele*
Ta. *niṇam* fat	Ka. *neṇa*
Ta. *ulai* fire-place	Ka. *ole*
Ta. *nurai* foam	Ka. *nore*, etc.

In these cases the original vowel may have been *i* or *u* on the one hand, or on the other hand *e* or *o*, but without related forms of the type used above, it is impossible to say which.

The development sketched above is common to all the languages concerned. We now come to a change that is peculiar to Kanarese. Briefly, radical *e* and *o*, when followed in the next syllable by *i* or *u*, become *i* and *u* respectively.[1] Examples are:–

Ka. *idir* opposite: Ta. *etir*, Te. *eduru*.

Ka. *ili* rat: Ta. *eli*, Tu. *eli*, Te. *eluka*.

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1 Cf. E. H. Tuttle, *Dravidian Developments*, § 17, where this change is briefly indicated.

Ka. *isu* to shoot: Ta. *ey*.

Ka. *kiḍu* perish: Ta. *keḍu*, Te. *ceḍu*.

Ka. *kivi* ear: Ta. *cevi*.

Ka. *tiḷi* become clear: Ta. *teḷi*, Te. *teli* white, clear.

Ka. *bidir* bamboo: Ta. *vetir*, Te. *veduru*.

Ka. *bisil* heat : Ta. *veyil*, Te. *ve*– hot.

Ka. *uḍi* hip: Te. *oḍi*

Ka. *uli* to sound: Te. *oli*.

Ka. *kuḍi* point: Ta. *koḍi*, Te., Tu. *koḍi*.

Ka. *kuḍu* to give: Ta. *koḍu*.

Ka. *tuḍu* to join: Ta. *toṭu*.

Ka. *nuḍi* sound, speech: Ta. *noṭi*.

Ka. *puḍi* powder: Ta. *poṭi*, Te., Tu. *poḍi*.

Ka. *puruḷ* substance, Ta. *poruḷ*.

Ka. *pusi* lie, falsehood: Ta. *poy*.

In a number of these cases forms with *e* and *o* appear as well as *i*– and *u*– forms. This must be due to dialect mixture. The point is touched on by Kittel in his Grammar.[1] Speaking of *tuḍu* and *kuḍu*, which appear in the above list, he says: "[In the formation of the past participle] *tu* is converted into *ṭu* after the ancient and medieval themes *kuḍu* and *tuḍu*, these changing their initial vowel *u* into *o* and taking the forms *koṭ* and *toṭ*, so that the past participles become *koṭṭu* and *toṭṭu*." Historically, of course, the vowels in the past participles are original and those in the themes secondary. He then goes on to add: "The themes *kuḍu* and *tuḍu* occasionally appear as *koḍu* and *toḍu* in the medieval dialect, and

1 § 164

always so in the modern one; the participles remain *koṭṭu, toṭṭu.*" The same remarks as regards the vowels apply to *kiḍu* perish, *isu* to throw, etc., of which the past participles are *keṭṭu, eccu,* etc. It thus appears that the change is only rigidly enforced in the ancient classical language and that it is often neglected in the later language. This can be explained by assuming that the development took place only in a restricted part of the Kanarese area, and that this part happened to be the district where the classical dialect was centred.[1] Later the influence of other areas was felt, in which this change had not taken place. At the same time the classical form of speech continued to exert its influence resulting in a mixture of forms.

1 On the localization of classical Kanarese, see Kavirajamarga, ed. K. B. Pathak [1898], introduction, p. 13. It is well up in the northern part of the modern Kanarese-speaking area.

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES III

TWO DEVELOPMENTS OF INITIAL *k–* IN DRAVIDIAN

A

Original Dravidian *k–* is palatalized to *c–* in Tamil Malayalam and Telugu when followed by the front vowels *i, ī, e, ē*[1]. This change takes place in the following words:–

Ta. *citar* to scatter, also *citaṟu*, Ma. *citaruka*, Te. *cedaru;* Ka. *kedaru, kedaṟu,* Tu. *kedaruni*; Ka. also *cadaṟu, cedaṟu,* Tu. also *cadaruni.*

Ta. *cital, citalai, cel* white ant, termite, Ma. *cital, cetaḷ.* Te. ceda, *cedalu:* Ka. *gedalu, gejjalu, geddali,* To. *gejalu* [Tu. *udalu* the white ant].

Ta. *ciraṅku* eruption, pimple, itch, Ma. *ciraṅṅu,* Ka. *keraku* scab.

Ta. Ma. *ciri* to laugh; Ka. *kiri* to grin; Ka. also *ciricu* to laugh, titter; cf. also Ma. *ciḷikka* to laugh, Ka. *kila kila* an intimation sound of joyful titter or laughter, Tu. *kiśi kiśi* titter, laugh, Ka. *kisi* grinning. The basis of all these words is naturally onomatopoeic.

Ta. *cirai* to shave, cut with a sickle, Ma. *cirekka* to shave, scrape: Ka. *kere* to scratch, scrape, shave, *kiri* to shave, Tu. *kerepuni* to scrape, polish. From the same base : Ta. *curaṇṭu* to scratch, scrape. Ma. *ciraṇṭu, curaṇṭu* id. Ka. *keraṇṭu* to dig with the nails, scratch, Tu. *kereñcuni* to scratch the ground as a fowl. Cf. Mar. *kharaḍnem̥* to scratch [lw < Dr.]

1 Caldwell 3, pp. 150–1.

Ta. *cil* few, little, small, *cila* a few, several [neut. pl.], *cilku* to become few, dwindle, Ma. *cila* a few, several, Te. *cilupa, cilipi* small, light: Ka. *kela* a few, several, Tu. *kela, kelavu* id.

Ta. *cilatan̲* male companion, servant, *cilati* female friend, confidante. The original meaning was someone at one's side. Compare Ka. *kela* side [this word is not preserved in Tamil] and *keladan* a man who is on one side or both sides. Ka. has also *keḷadi* a female companion or friend. This is probably the same word as Ta. *cilati,* and the substitution of the cerebral *ḷ* is due to the influence of the word *keḷe* union, friendship, relationship.

Ta. *cilai* to sound, roar, twang; [sb.] a bow, *cilampu* to sound, etc,; [sb.] an anklet, Ma. *cilekka* to rattle, tinkle, chatter, chirp, *cilampu* anklet, *cilappu* sound, Te. *celāgu* to sound: Ka. *kele* to shout [*sele* to sound, noise], Tu. *kilevuni* to whistle, resound, *kelepuni* to crow as a cock, Go. *kilītānā* to weep loudly as a child, *killītānā* to chirp, Kui *klāpa* to crow. The words are onomatopoeic in origin; cf. Tu. *kila kila* chirping, screeching, Kui *kila bila* noice of chattering, Te. *kila kila*, etc. From this is also derived Kur. *kilkilā* a kind of woodpecker=Ta. *ciccili* [<**cilcili*<**kilkili*] kingfisher; cf. Ta. [dial.] *kikkiri* kingfisher.

Ta. Ma. *cir̲u* small, Te. *cir̲u, cir̲uta* : Ka. *kir̲u*, Tu. *kiri, kiru.*[1]

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1 Originally **kiltu* and derived from *kil*>*cil* above. The change *–lt–* >*r* is well known in Tamil external sandhi [Vinson, *Manuel de la Langue* Tamoule, p. 33], and the same change also takes place in the middle of words as here. The final *–tu* is to be explained as the 3rd sing.neut.pronominal affix, which is appended to

Ta. *ciṉam* anger, *ciṉavu* to be angry, Ma. *cinam* anger,

the Drav. adjective in certain syntactical relationships [when used predicatively and to form adverbs]. In this case, as a result of the the sandhi change it has been incorporated with the original adjective to form a new word. Nevertheless its origin is betrayed by a peculiarity of its grammatical treatment in Tamil. Whereas other adjectives have a nasal added to them when used attributively before words beginning with an occlusive, e.g *perum puli* a big tiger, *kuṟun tokai* a small collection, etc., such is never the case with *ciṟu* which is always construed without a nasal, e.g. *ciṟu kuṭi* a little house, *ciṟu paṟai* a little drum, etc. The account of its origin given here accounts very well for this anomaly.

The commonest word for "small" in Kanarese is *cikka.* Kittel derives this from *ciṟu*[=*kiṟu*], comparing for the suffix Ma. *ceṟukkan* boy, lad. This cannot be correct because *k–* does not become *c–* in Ka. except in rare dialectal forms. Thus *ciṟu* occurs rarely, probably due to the influence of Te. or Ta., but the regular and usual form is *kiṟu.*

In the case of *cikka,* on the other hand, no trace of *k–* appears, so that *c–* here must be regarded as original, and the word can have no connection with *ciṟu*<*kiṟu.* The word *cikka* has been borrowed from Ka. into IA. See J. Bloch, *Formation de la Langue Marathe,* Index *s. v. cike* a little, *cikkar* small. Earlier it appears as Skt. *cikka* small, in the compound *cikkagaja* a young elephant, and Pkt. [*Deśīn.* iii, 21] *cikkā* a small thing, but it does not seem to have had any currency outside the Deccan.

For the same reason Ka. *cillu* smallness, *cillaṟa* small trifles, odds and ends, can only be connected with *kil–, kiṟu* etc., if we assume them to be borrowed from Telugu or some palatalizing dialect. Te. has *cillara* in the same sense as Ka. *cillaṟa* and may be the origin of it. Ta. *cillaṟai* is not old, and obviously borrowed from Ka. or Te.

J. Bloch is inclined to derive Mar. *celā* pupil from Dr.:Ka. *cillaṟa, cillu, ciṟu,* smallness, Ta. *cila* a few [*Formation......,* Index, s. v.]: This attempt is to be

cinikka to be out of humour, *cinippu* anger: Te. *kiniyu* to be angry, Ka. *kinisu*, Kui *kireni* out of temper, surely [< **kineni*].[1]

Ta. *cī* pus, mucus of the nose, also *cīḻ*, cf. cīttai rottonness Ma. *cīka* to rot, Ka. *kī* to become putrid, *kīvu, kīmu* pus, Tu. *kīvu* pus, To. *gīf* id., Te. *cīmu* pus, *cīmiḍi* mucus

rejected in view of the fact that Drav. *cil*- represents earlier *kil*- in these cases.

Another word to be seperated from *ciṟu* < *kiṟu* is Te. *cinna* small. This is rather to be compared with Brah. *cunak* small, *cuna* a child. In this case we have primitive Dravidian *c*–, not *k*–. The words are further to be compared with Beng. *cuna, cunī* small, Sh. *cunu* which Turner [N. D. s. v. *cun*] connects with words derived from Skt. *cūrṇa*, Pkt. *cuṇṇa* powder. They may, however, be lws < Drav. Santali *cuni* small appears to be derived from Bengali [Bodding, A Santal Dictionary s. v.].

Ka. *saṇṇa* small appears to be derived from Pkt. *saṇha*. A. Master [JBBRAS, v [1929], p. 110] is inclined to regard the borrowing as having been the other way. Against this it is to be observed that the word is more widespread in Indo-Aryan [N. D. s. v. *sānu*] than it is in Dravidian, where it is confined to Ka. and Te. [Kur. *sannī* small cannot be native Dravidian because *s*– does not occur in that language in native Dravidian words]. Further the Indo-aryan etymology of the word—Skt. *ślakṣṇa* > Pkt. *saṇha* [> Ka. lw. *saṇṇa*] —Nep. *sānu*, etc., is unobjectionable.

1 This is to be distinguished from the following forms, onomatopoeic in origin, which had not original *k*–: Ka. *siṭṭu* anger, which is probably equivalent to Ta. *ciṟṟam*, though somewhat irregular in form; cf. *ciṟu* to hiss. Telugu has *ciṟṟu*, *ciṟṟa* anger, and with it can be compared Brah. *ciṛing* to be annoyed, Kur. *ciṛārnā* to lose one's temper, fly into a passion. With these latter some IA. words are to be compared. Sir Denys Bray compares *Jatkī*, Sindhi *chiṛ*- with the Brah. word; cf. also Hi. *chiṛnā*, etc. In Dravidian again we can compare Ka. *seṇe* to be angry, *seṇasu* wrath.

of the nose, Kui *sīveṇḍi*, *sīvenji* pus, Kuwi *sīmesi*, *sīvesi*, Brah. *kish* pus, mucus of the nose, Kur. *kittnā* to rot, Malt. *kite*.

Ta. Ma. *cīppu* small cluster or bunch of plantain fruits, Te. *cīpu*: Tu. *kīpu* id.

Ta. *cīrtti* fame < Skt. *kīrtti*.

Ta. *ce-*, *cem* red, *cekkar*, *cekkal* redness, *ceccai* redness, *cemmai* id., *cey-* red, *ceyyaṉ* a red man [F. *ceyyaḷ*] *cevv-* red [before vowels], *cevvu* redness, *cē* to redden, *cēppu* redness, *cēy* id., *civa* to become red, *civappu* redness [< **ceva-*, *cevappu* DS II], Ma. *ce-* red, *cekkal* redness, *cempikka* to be red, *cuvakka*, *cuvappu* = Ta. *civa-*, *civappu*, *covva* redness = *cevva*, Te. *ce-* in *ceṅ-galuva* red water-lily and similar compounds: Ka. *ke- red*, *kekkarisu* become red, *keṅka* tawny, *keṅgal*, *keṅgalisu*, *keccane*, *keñcage*, *keñci*, *kempu*; *kēpala* Ixora coccinea, *kēsu* redness, *kisu* red, Tu. *kem* red, *keñca*, *kempu* redness [also *canna* red]. Brah. *khīsun*, Malt. *qēso*, Kur. *khẽso*. The word does not appear in the Central languages as so for recorded.[1]

Ta. Ma. *ceṭi* shrub, Te. *ceṭṭu* plant, bush, creeper, Ka. *giḍa* [< *giḍi < *geḍi].

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1 Attempts to Skt. [Śiva n. of the God from the Drav. word for "red" [Konow *LSI*, iv, p.279: S.K.Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* i, p. 41, etc.] are to be rejected in view of the fact the c- is only a late development of k- in three of the southern languages. The same objection applies to attempts to derive Skt. *Śambhu-*, a name of Śiva from Ta. *cempu* *redness, copper [Chatterji, loc. cit., M. Collins, *Dravidic Studies* [University of Madras], iii [1923], p. 61, etc.].

Ta. *cettu* to cut with an adze, chisel, plane, *cetukku* pare, chisel, etc., Ma. *cettuka*, Te. *cekku* [<**cetku*]: Ka. Tu. *kettu* chip, pare, scrape, etc.; cf. Kui. *kata* cut, chop, hew [?]

Ta. *cettu* having thought [<**ceṟṟu*]: Ka. *gettu* id. [from *giṟ*<**geṟ*(*u*)].

Ta. Ma. *ceru* fight, battle : love-quarrel, Ta. *ciraṟu* to sulk, disagree, *ciraṟṟu* to be angry with, Ka. *keraḷ* to become angry, to begin to rage.

Ta. Ma. *cey* to do, Ka. *key*, *gey*, Tu. *geipini*, Te. *cēyu*, Go. *kīānā*, Kui *kiva*, *giva*, Kuwi *kīnai*.

Ta. Ma. *cey* a field, especially a wet field, Te. *cēnu* [pl. *cēlu*]: Ka. *key*, Tu. *keyi*. Derived from this are Ka. *kesaṟu* wet soil, mud, mire, Ta. Ma. *cēṟu* id., Tu. *kēḍụ*; Skt. lw. *kedāra* a field under water, Pa. *kedāra* [often spelt *ketāra*], Pkt. *keāra*; cf. further Ta. *cetumpu* mud, mire.

Ta. *ceruttal* udder, Ma. *cerannal*, *cerunnal*, Ka. *keccal*, Tu. *kerndelụ*, keñjelụ.

Ta. *ceruppu* shoe, Ma. *cerippu*, Ka. *kerpu*, also *kera*, *kerahu*, *keravu*, To. *kervu*, Tu. *cappalu*, *cappaḷụ*, Te. *ceppu*, Kuwi *seppu*, Go. *sarpum*, *sarpo*, Maṛia *helpus* shoe, sandal.[1]

Ta. *cerumu* to cough: Ka. *kemmu*.

Ta. *cevi* ear, *ceviṭu* deaf, Ma. *cevi* ear, *ceviṭu* ear [chiefly the inner part], also *cekiṭu*, *ceppi* ear, cheek: earwax, *cevippi* earwax, Te. *cevi* ear, *cevuḍu* deaf, To. *kev* ear, Tu. *kebi* ear, *kebure* a deaf man, *keppu* deafness, *keppi* a deaf.

1 Lws. from this in IA. would seem to be: Hi. *kharpā* sandal [<**kharappa-*: Ka. *kerahu*<*kerappu], and from a palatalizing dial. Mar. *sappaḷa* sandal.

woman, *keppe* a deaf man, *keppe* cheek, Go. *kawi* ear, Maṛia *kev*, pl. *kevku* id. Kol. *kēv*, pl. *kēvul*, Kui *kriu*, *kiru*,[1] Kuwi *kiriyu*, *krīyu*, Brah. *khaf*, Kur. *khebdā*, Malt. qethwu.

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1 A problem is presented by the Kui and Kuwi forms in which -r- appears. Ramaswamy Aiyar in drawing attention to this [*Educ. Rev*, 37 [1931], p. 552] compares to the Kui forms Tu. *kirmbilu̥* ear-wax and *ceraḍu̥* ear. With Tu. *kirmbilu̥* we can compare also Ta. *kuṟumpi* ear-wax, Ka. *kuṟugaṇi*, *kogaṇi*, *gugge*, Te. *gubili*, *gulibi*, *gulimi*, Go. *korangeḍ*, Kuwi *kirpejja* There is a certain doubt about the connection between these words with the Kui forms of the word for ear beeause of the vowel of the first syllable which from the majority of the forms seems to have been -u-, and also because the Tamil form can be quite naturally explained as the Tamil Lexicon explains it, namely as *kuṟu* small+*pī* excrement. The latter element is in any case pī which has this secondary sense generally in Dravidian [cf. Ma. *cevippī* ear-wax, Kur. *pīk* in both senses, etc.] If Ramaswami Aiyar's explanation is to be retained, the first element in a form like Ta. *kuṟumpi* must be regarded as having been altered by popular etymology, and on the whole I am inclined to regard this as being the case. The same element appears also to be found in Ta. *kuruṭu* tragus.

Tu. *ceraḍu* ear is isolated in Dravidian. Initial *k*– is occasionally palatalized in Tulu, which is somewhat of a mixed language, and anyway *ceraḍu* is to be regarded as a dialect form since the standard word for "ear" in Tu. is *kebi*. Tu. *ceraḍu* is therefore to be regarded as representing primitive Dravidian **keraṭu* and though so far it has not appeared in any other Dravidian language, we have in Sanskrit a word *karaṭa* an elephant's temple; the spot between the forehead and ear of a bird, which is obviously the same word and is to be regarded as a lw. from Dravidian. This root *ker*– with the rather vague sense of "cheek, temples, ear" [cf. Ma. *ceppi* "ear" and "cheek", *koviṭu* cheek which is a variant form of **keviṭu* which appears in Ma. as *ceviṭu* ear] appears in a number of derivative words in Drav.: Ma. *kenni*, *cenni* temples, Ka. *kenne* the upper cheek < **kerni*, **kerne*, Te. *cerāpa cempa* cheek, Te. *cekku*, *cekkili*, Ka. *kekke* < **kerkke*, and so forth. Likewise Drav. **kevi* ear may represent earlier **kevvī*

Ta. *ceṟu* to shut in, restrain, prevent, subdue, *ceṟi* to be tight, dense, closely packed, *ciṟai* restraint, prison, dam, bank, tank, Ma. *ceṟiyuka* to be thronged, *ceṟukkuka* to fill up, dam up, enclose, *ciṟa* enclosure, dam, tank: Ka. *kiṟu* to confine, shut in, *keṟe* tank, *seṟe* confinement, prison, Tu. *kere* tank, *kide* cow-pen, *śere* prison, captivity, stall, Te. *ceṟa* prison, *ceṟa-gonu* to take captive, *ceṟuvu* tank; cf. Kui *kṛīpa* to swell [Ta. *ceṟi*].

Ta. *ceṉṉi* head, summit; elephant's temple [*Puṟan* 22] Ma. *kenni, cenni* temples, Ka. *kenne* the [upper] cheek, Tu. *kenni, kenne* cheek; cf. Ka. *kendāre* the temples, Skt. [lw < Dr.] *kenāra* the temples, upper part of the cheek.

Te. *cekku, cekkili, ceṅka, cempa, cerāpa* cheek: Ka. *kekke.*

Ta. *cuvar* wall: Ka. *kêr.* The connection is suggested by the Tamil Lexicon, which seems justified if Ta. *cuvar* represents earlier **civar* < **cevar*[2] < **kevar*, of which Ka. *kēr* is a contracted form.

Ta. *cē* to lie, remain, dwell, sleep, Ma. *cēkuka* to roost: Ka. *kē* to lie down, repose, Kui *kēka* to lean on.

Ta. Ma. *cēmpu* Colocasia antiquorum, Tu. *cēvu, tēvu,* Te. *cēma*: Ka. *kēsave, kēsu, kesavu.* The Sanskrit words for

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or **keppi* [cf. Ma. *ceppi*] < **kervi* or *kerpi**. Skt. *karṇa*– ear, which has no Indo-European etymology, is no doubt borrowed from an early Dravidian **kerne.*

2 CF. Ma. *cuva*=Ta. *civa* to be red. It is to be observed that Ta. *cuvar* is pronounced *cevar* in the colloquial [R. P. Sethu Pillai, *Tamil Literary and Colloquial* p. 10: *Annals of Oriental Research,* University of Madras, ii (1937-8)].

this plant - *kemuka*, *kecuka*, *kevuka*, *kacu*, *kacvī* are derived from Dravidian.

Ta. Ma. *cēr* marking nut tree, Ta. *cēṅ-koṭṭai* marking nut, Ka. *kēr*, *gēr*, Tu. *gēru̥-kāyi*, *jēru̥-kāyi*, *tēreda-mara*, Te. *jīḍi* the marking-nut tree, *jīḍi-giñja* the marking nut.

Ta. Ma. *cēri* street, village, quarter of a town; Ka. Tu. *kēri*, Te. *gēri* [Brown: not in *Śabdaratnākaramu*]; cf. Kui *kēri* side.

Ta. *cēṉai* yam [modern], Ma. *cēna*: Tu. *kēne* : cf. [with different vocalism] Kui *kune* tuber, tuberous root, yam.

Ta. *cēl* carp < **kēl* a contracted form of *kayal* which occurs side by side with *cēl* in Tamil.

Ta. *Cēraṉ*, *Cēral* < **Kēraṉ*, **Kēral* : Skt. *Kerala* n. of the dynasty and country.

The last example is interesting as it seems to throw some light on the date at which the change took place in Tamil. *Kerala*– first appears in IA. in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the compound *Keralaputra* which is a literal rendering of Ta. *Cēramāṉ* [*māṉ* < makaṉ son]. From this it would appear that when the Āryans first came into contact with the three Tamil kingdoms, the name was still pronounced **Kēral*. Since there are no earlier references in Sanskrit literature to the Keralas,[1] we may conclude that the

1 The first mention is in *Mahābhāṣya* on 4.1.175. The *Vārttika* here mentions Coḍa– with an –ādi that includes the Keralas whom Pat. takes the trouble to mention. According to the usual view Patanjali is a century or two later than Aśoka, Kātyāyana roughly contemporary. The references in the *Mahābhārata* which are not numerous, belong to the later stage of the compilation of that work, and are not likely to be earlier than Patanjali.

period of this first contact was not very long before Aśoka, and in all probability contemporary with the expansion of the Maurya Empire.[1] In that case the sound change must have taken place in Tamil between this period, roughly 300 B. C., and the period of the earliest Tamil literature which is to be placed in the first few centuries A. D., when of course the change has been completed. The fact that the change takes place in at least one Skt. lw. in Tamil [Ta. *cīrtti* fame < Skt. *kīrti*] is additional evidence for this view.

When the vowels in question are followed by a cerebral consonant, i.e. *-ṭ-*, *-ṇ-*, *-ḷ-* or *-ḻ-* the palatalization of initial

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1 An attempt has been made to see in the term *Cerapādāḥ* which occurs in an obscure passage of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (ii, 1, 1. See Keith's note in his edition: the theory has been adopted by P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *History of the Tamil*, p. 29, and others). There is no foundation for this suggestion, which is based on a misconstruction of the words in question. The passage runs: *yā vai tā imāḥ prajās tisro atyāyam āyaṃs, tānīmāni vayāṃsi vaṅgā vagadhāś cerapādāḥ* "The three races that transgressed were these birds—*vaṅgas, vagadhas*, and *cerapādas*." The words *vaṅga-*, *vagadha*, and *cerapāda-* are the names of three species of birds not otherwise mentioned. Since the actual number of bird-names current in the Brāhmaṇa period must have been far larger than the comparatively small number of which record is preserved, the fact that these words turn up no where else need not be a cause of surprise. Nor need there be any doubt about the words being bird-names, since the text if construed as above definitely states that they are such. The error of the commentators, followed by the modern interpreters, is to regard *vayāṃsi* birds as one of the three *prajāḥ* instead of a general term describing the three which are mentioned after it; and, as a result of this, to turn *vaṅgā vagadhāś* which is actually two nominative plurals, into a compound expression (*vaṅga-+avagadha-*) From this have sprung other errors, including the attempt to see in the passage the names of peoples or tribes.

k- does not take place in Tamil and Malayalam.[1] This restriction does not apply to Telugu.

Exx:- Ta. *kiṭa* to lie down, Ma. *kiṭakka* to lie, rest, dwell, Ka. *keḍe* to fall down, sink, perish, Tu. *keḍaguni* to fall or slip down, Te. *keḍayu* to fall, die [lw. <Ka. on account of *k*–]; cf. Kui *kṛūva* to sink down or into[?].

Ta. *kiṭṭu* to draw near; be attained, accomplished, *kiṭai* to be obtained; approach, encounter [in battle], Ma. *kiṭṭu* to reach, meet, come to hand, *kiṭayuka* to be found, obtained, knock against, quarrel, *kiṭa*[sb.] approach, match, equality, Ka. *kiṭṭu, giṭṭu* to touch, reach, come to hand, Tu. *giṭṭa* proximate, near, Te. *kiṭṭu* approach, draw near, agree, suit; Malt. *kitre* to approach, *kiṭe* near, nigh.

Ta. *kiḻaṅgu* any bulbous root, Ma. *kiḻaññu*, Tu. *keraṅgu* sweet potato.

Ta. *kiḻam* old age, *kiḻavaṉ* an old man, *kiḻavi* an old woman, *kiḻaṭu* old age, Ma. *kiḻavan* an old man, Ka. *kiḻava* id.

Ta. *keḻu* connected with, asssociated with, near to, possessed of[2] *keḻuvu* to unite with, be attached to, [sb.] friendship, *keḻumu* to approach, join, unite with, etc.,

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1 This rule is formulated by L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, *Educ. Rev.*, vol. 37 [1931], p. 553, and A. F. Thyagaraju, *IA.*, vol. 61 [1932], p. 142.

2. E. g. KuT. 145 *tuṟai keḻu ciṟu kuṭi* the little house near to the ford, 170 *malai keḻu nāṭaṉ* lord of a land possessed of mountains. The Tamil Lexicon's treatment of this word is inadequate. It calls it "an euphonic increment" without defining the meaning. Actually it is the stem of the verb which appears in fuller form as *keḻuvu* and of which the past relative participle *keḻīiya* is used in the same sense as *keḻu*. The verb *keḻumu* is naturally merely a phonetic variation of *keḻuvu*.

kiḻamai friendship, alliance, ownership, relationship, *kiḻatti* proprietress, mistress, *kiḻavaṉ* owner, master, husband, *kiḻavi* mistress.

Ta. *kiḻi* to rend, tear, split, *kīḻ* to cleave, split, tear, Ka. *kīḻ* to pluck out, pull off, eradicate.

Ta. *kiḷar* to rise, increase, be abundant, intense, *kiḷampu* rise, emerge, increase, etc. Ma. *kiḷaru*, *kiḷampu*, Ka. *keḷar* to expand, unfold, gape, break forth, appear, arise; [with metathesis] *keraḷu* to increase, spread, Te. *keralu* to increase, rise, swell; be enraged; IA. lws: Skt. *kaḍāra*, *karāla*, Pa. *kaḷāra* wide open, gaping, with projecting teeth.

Ta. Ma. *kiḷi* parrot, Ta. also *kiḷḷai*, Ka. Tu. *giḷi*, *giṇi*, Te. *ciluka*.

Ta. *kiḷai* kindred, branch, flock, etc.; [vb.] to ramify, multiply as families, *kēḷ* kindred, relations, friendship, friend, Ka. *keḷe*, *geḷe*, *geṇe* union, companionship, friendship, *kēḷa* companion; Te. *celimi* friendship, *celikāḍu* friend; cf. Kui *klāmbu* family, tribe, race, species.

Ta. Ma. *kiḷḷu* to pinch, nip, Te. *gillu*, Tu. *kinkuni*, Kuvi *kicali*, Kui *kisa*, Go. *kiskānā*, *kiccānā*, Brah. *kishking* to pluck, Kur. Malt. *kiss-* to take out a thorn from the flesh.

Ta. *kīḻ* below, *kiḻakku* below, east, Ma. *kīḻ*, *kiḻu*, *kiḻakku*, Ka. *kīḻ*, *kiḻ*; *kiḻgu* to be low, *keḷa*, *keḷagu* low, below, Tu. *kīḷu* low, base, mean, *kīḍu* inferior, Te. *kīḍu-paḍu* to succumb, *krinda* underneath, Brah. *ki*, *kī-*, *kē-* below, *kēragh̠* lower side, bottom, Kur. *kiyyā* beneath, *kītā* or *kiyyanta*, lower, lowermost, inferior in rank.

Ta. *kīḷ* to split, rend, tear, Ka. *giḷu*, *siḷu*, Te. *cīlu*.

Ta. Ma. *keṭu* to perish, decay; [tr.] to destroy, Ka. *keḍu* to be destroyed, decay, perish, Tu. *keḍaguni* to ruin, spoil,

keṭṭa bad, spoiled, *śeṭṭuni* to decay, be spoiled, [caus.] *śeṭṭāvuni*, *teṭṭu̥* bad, wicked; *teṭṭuni* to rot, decay, *heṭṭu̥* bad, wicked; Te. *ceḍu* to be spoiled, ruined, decay, Go. *kaṟitānā* to be rotten, to rot.

Ta. *keṇṭu* to dig, cut as meat, Ta. Ma. *kiṇṭu* to dig into, poke, Te. *ceṇḍu* to cut, Malt. *kiṇḍe* to cut flesh or fish. This appears to be derived from a root **keṇ*- or **keḷ*- meaning to dig into, poke, etc., which appears also in Ta. *kiḷaṟu* to poke, dig up, stir, etc. Ta. *kiḷai* to dig up, to stir, scratch as fowls, to burrow into, to excavate, Ka. *keṇaku* to provoke [originally *to prod], Te. *kelãku* to stir, *ceṇaku*, *ceṇuku* to stir up, excite, provoke; cf. also Ta. *kēṇi* tank, well, ditch, *kiṇaṟu* well, *kiṭaṅku* ditch, pond, pit.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *kēḷ* to hear, ask, Tu. *kēṇuni*; cf. Ta. *kiḷa* to speak [i.e. to be heard], *kiḷavi* speech.

The reason for the absence of palatalization in Tamil and Malayalam in the above cases is not far to seek. In Tamil as pronounced to-day the vowels *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, when followed by a cerebral consonant are pronounced in a manner noticeably distinct from the normal. J. R. Firth[1] describes it as a "centralized obscure quality". This difference of pronunciation must have existed already at the early stage of the language when the palatalization of *k*- took place and must have been strongly enough marked to prevent the change taking place under these circumstances. This modern peculiarity of the pronunciation of Tamil is thus indirectly attested for the earliest period of the language. It was not, however, shared by Telugu, since the regular treatment in that language is that *k*- becomes *c*- in these words; e.g. *ceḍu*,

1. Appendix to Arden's *Tamil Grammar* (4th ed.), p. xxii.

celimi, *ciluka*, etc. The fair number of exceptions to be observed above is to be accounted for mainly by the influence of Kanarese.

There is one other respect in which Tamil and Telugu part company in the matter of the palatalization of initial *k*-. In Tamil *k*- is quite naturally retained before the diphthong *ai*, whereas in Telugu *ai* becomes *ē* in radical syllables, and before this *ē* original *k*- changes to *c*- according to the general rule:-

Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *kai* hand; Te. *cēyi*; Kui *kagu*, *kaju*, Kuvi *kēyu*, Go. *kai*, Kolami *kīy*, Kur. *k͟hekkhā*, Malt. *qeqe*.

Ta. Ma. *kai* to be bitter, Ka. *kai*, *kay*, Tu. *kaipe* bitterness; Te. *cẽdu* bitterness, bitter, *cẽti* bitter [in comp].

Ta. *kayiṟu* rope, Ma. *kayaṟu*; cf. Tu. *kaipini* to fasten, bind tight: Te. *cēru* rope.

Since in these two respects Tamil and Telugu diverge, it becomes clear that it is not a case of common innovation but of parallel independent development. The two languages must have been separated some time before either of them introduced this change. This is in accordance with the fact observed above, that the change in Tamil took place fairly late in the immediate pre-literary period. At this period Tamil and Telugu must have been long separated. So far there is no evidence for the proximate dating of the change in Telugu.

In Kanarese, Telugu, and Tulu, and to a lesser extent in other languages, dialect mixture and mutual borrowing have resulted in a certain number of irregular forms. Occasional palatalized forms occur in Ka. in the following instances:

candaḷir, cendaḷir red shoot, *caṅgaluve* a red lotus, *ceṅgadir, cembisil*, etc., *cadaṟu, cedaṟu* to scattar, *ciṟu, ciṭṭu* small, *cēdu* bitterness, *seṟe* confinement, *sele* sound, noise. These forms are in the main due to influence of Telugu. The mutual influence of the two languages has been very considerable, and of the words mentioned here *cēdu* and *ciṭṭu* are forms peculiar to Telugu. It is to be remembered that in all these cases the regular forms occur also in Ka., much more frequently and obviously as the standard forms. In Tulu the variety is a good deal greater than in Kanarese, in accordance with the fairly mixed character of the language. Thus where Ka. has two forms *keṟe* tank, dam, and *seṟe* prison [prob. from Te.], Tu. has three; the proper Tu. form *kide* cow-pen and two forms borrowed from Ka., *kere* tank and *śere* prison. Palatalization occurs in the following words: *canna* red, *caḍugu* bad, depraved, *caduruni* to be scattered, *cappalu* shoe, sandal, *cirtepili* leopard [Te. *ciṟuta, ciṟupuli* literally "small tiger"], *śeṭṭuni* to perish, *śere*. In a number of instances this *c-* or *ś-* is further altered to *t-*: *tidu, tidi* small, *tiddya* junior: Ta. Ma. *ciṟu*, Ka. *kiṟu*; *teṭṭu* bad, wicked, *teṭṭuni* to rot beside, *śeṭṭuni* etc.; *tirtu* down, underneath [Ta. *kiḻ*, etc.]; *tēreda-mara* clearing-nut tree beside *gēru-kāyi*; Ta. Ma. *cēr*, Ka. *kēr, gēr*. In yet other instances it develops to *h-* in Tulu: *hiddya* junior, *hirtu* down, beneath, *heṭṭu̥=śeṭṭu̥, teṭṭu̥* bed. Obviously a fairly complicated mixture of dialects lies behind this variety of forms. Irregular preservation of *k-* is not uncommon in Telugu, and in these cases the influence of Kanarese is usually the cause. Exx: *kiniyu* to get angry, *kiḍupaḍu* to be defeated, *kendāmara* red lotus, *kempu* ruby, *keḍayu* to be destroyed, *keralu* become large, fierce, gape, *kelāku kelanu* side [Ka. *kela*], *kelasamu* work [=Ka.], *kēlu* [pl.] beside usual *cēyi* hand.

Mention may be made in this connection of a couple of words in the central languages. Go. *sarpum* shoe, sandal, corresponds to Ta. *ceruppu*, Ka. *kerpu*, Te. *ceppu*, Kuvi *seppu*. Kuwi *seppu* is obviously borrowed from Telugu, the language being full of such loans. The same must also be the case with Go. *sarpum*, since otherwise *k-* is always preserved in that language. It does not, however, represent the actual Te. form *ceppu* but an earlier form **cerpu*, and must therefore have been borrowed before the *r* was assimilated to the following *p*, that is before the beginning of the literary period in Telugu. Another instance of borrowing appears in Kui *sīveṇḍi* pus, Kuvi *sīvesi* pus. Since *k-* is regularly preserved in these languages, these forms must be borrowed from Te. *cīmiḍi* [<**cīvīḍi*] id.

Not all irregularities are due to dialect mixture or mutual borrowing. What appears to be an irregular treatment of *k-* in Tamil appears in the following word:-

Ta. *kīrai* greens, vegetables, Ma. *cīra*, Ka. *kīre kire*, Te. *kūra*. Here palatalization takes place in Ma. but not in Tamil. In this case the retention of the *k-* in Tamil is due to the nature of the following vowel which cannot have been a pure *ī* because it appears in Te. as *ū*. An explanation is provided by Goṇḍi where we have *kusir* herbs, vegetables. Ta. *kīrai*, Te. *kūra* represent earlier **kuirai* **kuyir*[-ai] **kusir* [+*ai*]. At the time of the palatalization of *k-* in Tamil this dipthong *-ui-* cannot have yet developed into *-ī-*, though apparently it had already done so in Ma.

In some cases apparent irregularities are due to the words having been borrowed from some non-Dravidian source. An obvious case is Ta. Te. *kiccili* orange, Ka. *kittaḷe*, *kicili*,

Tu. *kittali.* In this case the word is a comparatively recent introduction, and so naturally is not affected by rules affecting original Dravidian words.

The same is probably the case with Ta. Ma. *kīri* mongoose, Ka. *kīra*, Kui *kirpeni.* The word does not seem to be current in the earliest Tamil literature, which already uses a lw. from Skt. *nakulam* [*Cilapp.*]. It looks therefore as if Ta. *kīri* is of later introduction.[1]

Finally in this connection we may mention the following: Ta. *kaḷimpu* verdigris, also *ceḷimpu*, Ma. *kaḷimpu*, *kiḷāvu* verdigris, *kiḷarkka* to be corroded, Ka. *kilumu*, *kilumbu*, Tu. *kilembu*, also *kaleṅgu*, *kaleṅgi*, Te. *cilumu*, *kilumu*, Kuvi *kilmu.* The word does not occur early in Tamil and the forms are very irregular, so we may conclude that the word has spread through the south Dravidian languages in comparatively recent times.

A special case is the Ka. word for fire *kiccu* with its cognates : Ka. Ta. *kiccu*, Tu. *kittu* lightning, *kiccu*, *kicci*, *kicce* fire, Te. *kittu* also *ciccu*, Koḍagu *tittu*, Go. Kol. *kis*, Kuvi *hīchū* [Fitzg.], Kur. *cicc*, Malt. *cicu*, Pkt. lw. *ciccī* [DNM., iii, 10]. Ta. *kiccu* does not appear early and is obviously borrowed from Kanarese. Likewise Te. *kittu* is a borrowing, the regular form being *ciccu*. The difficulty is presented by the northern forms Kur. *cicc*, Malt. *cicu.* Initial *k*- is never palatalized in these languages. In view of this, and also of the Koḍagu form *tittu*, we cannot consider

1 Early Tamil has also *tīrvai* mongoose which appears isolated. Another set of words in Dravidian is: Ta. *mūṅkā* a species of mongoose [*Tolk.*°], Ka. *muṅgisi*, *muṅguri*, Te. *muṅgisa*, cf. Pkt. *mangusa*, *muggasa*, Sgh. *mugaṭi*.

k- to be original in this word. Ka. *kiccu* and Go. *kis* [<*kiccu*] must have developed out of *ciccu* through dissimilation.

Instances of the palatalization of medial *-k-* in Tamil are comparatively rare. Though this article deals properly with initial *k-*, these cases can most conveniently be discussed here. The examples are :-

Ta. *acciram*, *aṟciram*, *aṟcirai* cold season, dewy season : Ka. *aykil* cold season : frost, dew.

Ta. *arici* rice [without the husk], also *ari*, Ma. *ari*, Ka. Tu. *akki* [<**arki*], Tu. also *ari*, Toda *ašk*.

Ta. Ma. *iñci* ginger<**singi*; cf. Pa. *singi*, *singivera*, Skt. *śṛṅgavēra*.[1]

Ta. *ñāñcil*, *nāñcil* plough, Ma. *ñēṅṅōl*, *ñēññil*, Ka. *nēgal*, *nēgil*, Tu. *nāyer̥u*, Toda *nēkhel*, Te. *nāgali*, *nāgĕlu*, Go. *nāngēl*, Kui *nāngel̥i*; cf. Skt. *lāṅgala*, Pa. *naṅgala*.

Ta. *neruñcil*, *neruñci* Tribulus terrestris, Ma. *ñeruññil*, Ka. *nerigilu*, *neggilu*, *naggilu*, Tu. *nēgil̥u*.

Ta. *aḻiñcil* Alangium hexapetalum, Ma. *aḻiññil*<**aḻiṅkil*; cf. Skt. *aṅkola*, *aṅkolla* id. which is a lw. from Dravidian.[2]

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1 The ultimate origin of this word is no doubt to be sought in South East Asia [F.W.Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1905, p.169]. On the other hand the IA. forms seem to be borrowed directly from a Dravidian source, on account of the second element °*vera* which undoubtedly represents Dr. *vēr* root.

2 For the omission of the liquid before the consonant group *-ṅk-* in Skt., cf. Ka. *neggil* as opposed to Ta. *neruñcil*, and for final *-ola* corresponding to Ta. *-il* cf. Ma. *ñeṅṅōl* plough, as opposed to To. *ñāñcil*.

Ta. Ma. *nocci* Vitex negundo, Tu. *nekki*, Ka. *nekki lekki, lakki, lokki*; cf. the first part of Skt. *nirguṇḍī*.[1]

Ta. *eccil* food left over, anything defiled by contact with the mouth : Te. *eṅgili* contamination or defilement by the mouth, leavings or remnants of food.

Ta. *uḻiñcil* Sirissa; cf. *neruñcil, aḻiñcil* : Tu. *urkil* a kind of shrub, may be the same, but its exact nature is not specified.

Ta. *mucci* crown of the head, tuft of hair on the head, crest, Ma. *mucci* face, probably<**mukki*; cf. Ta. Ma. *mukaṭu* top, highest part, head, Ka. Te. *mogaḍu* ridge of a roof, Go. *mukur* comb of a cock; Skt. lw. *mukuṭa* crest, diadem.

Ta. *vici* to tie, fasten; Ka. *bigi*, Tu. *bigiyuni, bigipuni*, Te. *bigi* tightness, *bigiñcu* to fasten tightly [lw.<Ka. on account of *b*–].

In the majority of cases, however, when medial *-k-* is followed by *-i-* in Tamil it remains unaffected, e.g. :-

Ta. *akil* eagle-wood, *ukir* nail, *cukir* to card cotton, *cekil* the upper part of the shoulders, *tikiri* wheel, *tukir* coral, *tukil* cloth, *nakil* breast, *nekiḻ* to become loose, *pakir* to distribute, divide, *makiḻ* to rejoice, be intoxicated, *vakir* to divide, share out, *mūṅkil* a bamboo.

The reason for this apparent irregularity is not far to seek. On comparing the forms in the related languages, we find the vowel *-i-* here represented partly by *-i-* and partly by *-u-*, occasionally by *-a-*. From this we may conclude that the original vowel was of an indistinct or neutral quality

1 The Drav. forms probably represent original **nerki* or **lerki*. The irregular *l*– in Ka. which is not allowed initially in proper Drav. words, suggests that the word may have been borrowed originally from some non-Dravidian source.

which later became specialized as *-i-* or *-u-* or even that the groups *-ir* and *-il* in these words represent original vocalic *ṛ* and *ḷ*. A few examples will illustrate this:- Corresponding to Ta. *akil* eagle-wood, Skt. has *agaru* and *aguru*, Pa. *akalu, akaḷu, agalu, agaḷu* : corresponding to Ta. *tukil* fine cloth, Skt. has *dukūla, dugūla*. Of inter-Dravidian correspondences the following may be noted:- Ta. Ma. *ukir* nail, Ka. *ugur*, Tu. *uguru*; Ta. Ma. *utir* to fall of, be shed as leaves, Ka. *udir, udaru, uduru*, Tu. *uduruni, udaruni*; Ta. Ma. *uyir* to breathe, Ka. *usir, usur, usalu*, Tu. *usuru, usulu*, Te. *usuru*; Ta. Ma. *etir* opposite, Ka. *edur, idir*, Te. *eduru* Tu. *edu̥ru̥, eduru*; Ta. Ma. *katir* ray of light; ear of corn; spindle, Ta. *kadir, kaḍaru, kaduru*, Tu. *kaḍụrụ*, Te. *kaduru*; Ta. *kayiru* rope, Ma. *kayaṟu*; Ta. *aval* pounded rice, Ma. *avil*; Ta. *vetir* bamboo, Ka. *bidir*, Te. *veduru*, Tu. *beḍụrụ*, cf. Skt. *vetra-*; Ta. Ma. *matil* wall, rampart, Ka. *madil*, Tu. *maḍụlụ* the roofed wall of a compound [also *madilụ*], Te. *maduru* the roofed coping of a wall.

The divergence of forms can most easily be explained by the assumption of an original unaccented neutral vowel [ə] or of vocalic *l̥* and *r̥* in these positions. The non-palatalization of *-k-* in Tamil in these words is to be explained by the fact that the full vowel *-i-* had not developed in Tamil at the time the palatalization of *k* took place. The case is different where *-k-* is palatalized. Thus in the case of Ta. *nāñcil* plough, a comparison with Te. *nāgelu*, Go. *nāngēl* shows that *-i-* is shortened out of *-ē-* in this case. Beside Ta. *neruñcil* Tribulus terrestris there is a form *neruñci*, which seems to show that the *-i-* exists here of its own right. The other cases of palatalization are before final *-i*, where of course no difficulty arises.

The original pronunciation of what appears in Ta. as *-il*, *-ir*, is probably most nearly represented in Tulu by forms like *bedu̥ru̥, madu̥lu̥*. The second *u̥* is of modern origin, being appended to all final consonants, the first *u̥* followed by *r, l*, corresponds to the pronunciation which the other evidence above suggests for early Dravidian.

B

In the northern group of Dravidian languages [Brahui, Kuruk͟h, Malto] a development more or less the opposite of the palatalization just described takes place. In these languages initial *k-* is preserved before *i, ī*; before all other vowels it is changed to a guttural spirant usually represented in Brah. and Kur. by *k͟h*, in Malt. by *q*. In this case the vowels *e, ē* are classed with the back vowels *a, ā*, etc. and not as is usually the case with *i, ī* as front vowels.[1]

As examples of the change *k-* > *k͟h, q*, the following words can be quoted:–

Ta. Ma. Ka. *kaṇ* eye, Tu. *kaṇṇu*, Te. *kannu*, Kui *kanu*, Go. *kan* : Brah. Kur. *k͟han*, Malt. *qanu;* cf. Ta. Ma. Ka. *kaṇṇīr* tear[s], Go. *kānēr*, Kui *kanḍru;* Brah. *k͟harīnk*.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *kal* stone, Te. Tu. *kallu* : Brah. *k͟hal*.

Ta. *kala* to mix, mingle, *kalaṅku* to be stirred up, mixed up, confused, *kalakkam* confusion, perplexity, *kalaṅkal* turbidity, muddy water, *kalul̤* to become turbid, agitated, *kalul̤i* puddle, *kalāvu* to mix, be confused, *kalāy* to quarrel, *kalām* a battle, Ma. *kalaṅṅu* to be mixed, agitated, turbid as

1 Cf. E, H. Tuttle, "Dravidian Researches" (*AJPh.*, 50, 152) and "Dravidian Developments" (*Language Monographs*, v), § 44; L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, *Ed. Rev.*, 37 (1931), pp. 545–8; Sir Denys Bray, *The Brahui Language*, ii (1934) pp. 17–18.

water, *kalakkam* turbidness, confusion, quarrel, etc., Ka. *kala* confused, mixed, *kalaku* to make turbid, *kalaḍu* to become turbid, Te. *kalāka* confusion, perturbation, turbidity, *kalāgu* to be agitated, disturbed; *kalācu* to stir up, agitate, make turbid: Kur. *k͟halak͟hnā* to disturb, make muddy as water, *k͟halk͟hkā* disturbed, muddy water, Malt. *qalge* to disturb as water, *qalgro* disturbed, muddy water.[1]

Ta. *kaḷ* to steal, *kaḷvan̲* thief, *kaḷḷam*, *kaḷavu* theft, deception, Ma. *kaḷam*, *kaḷavu*, Ka. *kaḷ* to steel, *kaḷḷa* a thief, *kaḷavu* theft, Te. *kalla* deceit, *kallari* a rogue, Go. *kallānā* to steal: Kur. *k͟halb* theft, *k͟halbas* thief, *k͟haṛnā* to steal, pilfer, Malt. *qale* to steal, *qalwe* a thief, *qalwi* theft, *qalwo̱* stealthily, secretly; Skt. (lw.) *khala* a rogue.

Ta. *kaḷam* place, open place, threshing floor, field of battle, etc., Ma. *kaḷam*, Ka. *kaḷa*, *kaṇa* threshing floor, Tu. *kala* a squire, a bed (of flowers, etc.), Te. *kalanu* threshing-floor, place, battle, *kaḷḷamu* threshing-floor, Kui *klai* threshing-floor: Kur. *k͟hal* a field, Malt. *qalu* a field on the hills; Skt. (lw.) *khala* threashing-floor, etc.

Ta. *kai*, *kaya*, *kaca* to be bitter, Ma. *kai-kka*, Ta. *kayar*, *kacar* bitterness, Ka. *kai*, *kay*, *kaype*, *kasa*, *kasaru*, *kasi*, *kahi*, Tu. *kaipe* bitterness, *kasa* brackish, Te. *cēdu*, *cēti* bitter, *kasu* raw, unripe, *kasūgāya* an unripe fruit, *kasuru* id., Kuvi *kasa* sour, Go. *kehke* bitter: Malt. *qase* to become bitter, insipid, or vapid.[2]

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1 A number of Skt. words are derived from the Dravidian family Skt. *kalaṅka* stain, impurity, *kaluṣa* turbid [+Ta. *kaluḻ*] and *kalaha* quarrel.

2 Skt. *kaṣāya* astringent, Pa. *kasāya*, *kasāva*, and Pa. *kasaṭa* bitter, acrid, nasty, are derived from this Drav. root. There seems, however, to have been a confusion of two Drav. bases in Skt. *kaṣāya* (*kāṣāya*) because the meaning "reddish-brown" as applied Buddhist robes cannot be connected with the meaning "astringent", and its origin is probably to be sought in Dr. *kes-*, *kēs-* red, the various forms of which are listed above.

Ka. *kaccu, karcu* to bite, sting, smart, Go. *kaskānā* to bite, Kui *kasa* to bite, sting; a bite, sting; the itch: Kur. *khā̃snā* to scratch, *khasrā* the itch, Malt. *qaswe* to eat greedily, to nip off with the teeth; Skt. lws. *kaṣati* to scrape, scratch oneself, *kacchū* the itch.[1]

Ta. Ma. *cey* field, especially wet field, Tu. *keyi*, Ka. *key, kay* : Kur. *k̲h̲ajj* earth, mould, clay, mud, Malt. *qaju* earth, mud.

Ta. *kaṉṟu* calf, colt [young of elephant, horse, cow, buffalo, deer, etc.]; sapling, young tree, Ma. *kannu* the young of cattle [especially buffalo-calf]; young plantain trees around the mother plant, Kan *kaṟu, kandu* calf, *kanda* a young child male or female, Tu. *kañji* calf, Te. *kandu* an infant: Kur. *k̲h̲add* child, young animal or plant, *k̲h̲adā* small child, also any young animal, Malt. *qade* son

Ta. Ma. *kaḻuttu* neck, Ka. *kattu* [< **kaḻtu*]; Malt. *qasru*, Kur. *k̲h̲ēs^{e}r* [acc. *k̲h̲esran*]; Skt. [lw.] *kaṇṭha* neck, throat; cf. also Tu. *kaṇṭeḷu* Ka. *gaṇṭalu* neck, throat.

Ta. *kākkai* crow, Ma. *kākka*, Ka. *kāke, kāge*, Tu. *kakke*, Te. *kāki*, Kui *kāva*, Go. *kāwāl*: Brah. *k̲h̲āk̲h̲ō*, Kur. *k̲h̲āk̲h̲ā*, Malt. *qāqe*; Skt. [lw.] *kāka-* crow,

Ta. Ma. *kā* to guard, keep, protect; wait for, *kāppu* defence, guard, vigilance, etc., Ka. *kā, kāy* to guard, protect, watch, *kāpu* protection; vigilance, Tu. *kāpuni* to watch, guard; to wait, Te. *kācu, kāpu*, Kui *kāpa* to await, Go. *kēpānā* to watch or guard [especially to watch the crops], Kui *kāpa* to await, Kur. *k̲h̲āpnā* to guard, watch, Malt. *qāpe* to wait for, watch.

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1 Cf. J. Btoch, BSOS., v, 741

Ta. *kāy* to be hot, burn, dry up, *kāyccu* to heat, boil, Ma. *kāyu, kāccu,* Ka. *kāy* to be hot, etc., *kāṅke* heat, Te. *kāgu, kācu, kāyu,* Tu. *kāyuni,* Kui *kāga* to warm oneself, *kānda* to be hot, *kāṛa* to be hot, *kāspa* to make hot, Go. *kāsāna* to become hot: Kur. *k͟hāynā* to dry up, evaporate, *k͟haidnā* to make dry, Malt. *qāye* to become dry, *qāyek* dry, Brah. *k͟hāk͟har* fire; cf. Hi. *khā̃khar* anything very dry.

Ta. *kuṟaṅku* thigh, Ma. *kuṟaku* quarter of animals, Te. *kuṟuvu* thigh, Go. *kurkī, karkī,* Kui *kujgu* and *kuju* [pl. *kuska*], Kuvi *kūdgū* [Fitzg.]: Malt. *qosge,* Kur. *k͟hosgā* thigh.

Ta. *kuttu* to pierce, stab, sew, cuff, strike, pound, peck, dig, *kottu* to peck, hoe, bite, hack, *kontu* to peck, pierce, Ma. *kuttu* pierce, stab, sting, dig, cuff, beat, *kotti* pick-axe, *kottu* dig, peck, strike cut, Ka. *kuttu* beat, strike bruise, *kottu* chop, mince, *koccu* cut to pieces, *guddu* to strike, pound, *guddali* pick-axe, hoe, Tu. *gudduni* to cuff, box, beat, *guddoli* a kind of pick, Te. *gruddu* to cuff, *groccu* to dig, *guddali* hoe, Kui *kuta* to prick: Brah. *k͟hutting* to dig, *k͟hulling* to pierce, stab, Kur. *k͟hotnā* to cut by striking with a heavy instrument [hoe, axe, etc.], Malt. *qodali* a spade; IA. lws. — Skt. Pa. *kuddāla-* spade, hoe, Skt. *kunta-* spear, lance.

Ta. *kuṭṭu* to cuff, strike with the fists, *koṭṭu* to beat, strike, pound, Ma. *kuṭṭu* to pound, *koṭṭu* to beat as a drum, *koṭṭi* a mallet, Ka. *kuṭṭu* to beat, strike, pound, *koṭṭaṇa* beating the husks from paddy. *kuṭuku* to sting as a scorpion, Tu. *kuṭṭuni* to cuff, pound, bruise, *koṭṭu* a spade, Te. *koṭṭu* to beat, strike, knock, *kuṭṭu* to prick, pierce, sting, Go. *kōṭṭānā* to peck at as birds in the hand, to sew leaves together: Malt. *qoṭe* to knock, strike, beat, *qoṭure* to knock or dash against, Kur. *k͟hoṭṭnā* to break; IA. lws. Skt. *kuṭṭayati* bruise, crush, pound, *kuṭṭima* a pounded floor,

Pa. *koṭṭeti* beat, smash, pound, *ākoṭeti* beat, pound, stamp, Pkt. *kuṭṭeï* and *khuṭṭai*.

Ta. *koy* to reap, *kōy* a vessel for gathering toddy, *kuyam* sickle, Ma. *koy* to reap, *koyil* the hire of a fruit-gatherer, Tu. *koipini*, *koyyuni; koyyelu*, *koyilu* harvest, Ka. *koy*. *kuy*, *kuyi*; *koyilu*, *kuyilu* plucking, Te. *kōyu*; *kõta* reaping, Kui *kōva* to reap, *kōeri* harvest, Go. *kōīyānā* to gather, reap: Kur. *k͟hoynā*, Malt. *qoye* to mow, reap.

Ta. *kulai* to tremble, shudder, quiver, *kuluṅku* to be shaken, quake with fear, Ka. *kuluku* to shake, Tu. *kurkuni* id.: Brah. *k͟huling* to fear, be afraid.

Ta. *kuruṭu* blindness, *kuruṭa͟n* a blind man, *kuruṭi* a blind woman, Ma. *kuruṭu*, *kuruṭan*, Ka. *kuruḍu*, *kuḍḍu*, *kuruḍa*, *kuḍḍa*, Te. *guḍḍi*, Tu. *kuruḍu*, *kuruḍa*, *kuruḍe*, *kurute*: Malt. *qoṭri* a blind person, *qoṭre* to become blind.

Ta. *kuppai* collection, heap, clump, group, stack of grain, mound, *kuppam* multitude, *kuppal* heap, mound, multitude, *kuvavu* to be piled up; [tr.] to heap up; [sb.] roundness, fulness, plumpness; heap, pile; assemblage, collection, clump, group; mound, hillock, *kuvaṭu* rotundity, anything round; mound, hill, *kuvāl* heap, pile, collection, group: mound, hillock; abudance, *kuvi* to close as flowers by night, to assume a globular form, to crowd together, pile up; [tr.] to heap up, pile up, accumulate; to join hands as in prayer, *kuviyal* heap, conical pile, *kuvivu* heap, anything conical, *kuvai* heap, pile; collection, accumulation, *kuvaḷai* blue nelumbo [>Skt. *kuvalaya*; so called because it closes up by day; Skt. *kumuda* white water-lily is derived from the

same Dravidian root in this sense], [1] *kūvai* crowd, assemblage, *kūppu* to heap up as sand or grain; to join hands as in worship, to draw in as the sun its rays; [sb.] joining hands as in worship, *kūmpu* to close up, shut as a flower; [sb.] cone-shaped pinnacle of a chariot, mast[2]; bud, Ma. *kuppa* heap of dirt of refuse, *kuva* heap, *kuvaṭu* hill, *kuvika* to be assembled, contracted, *kūmpu* bud, peak, pointed heap; the mast of a ship, *kūmpal* heap, *kūmpuka* to close as flowers, *kūmpikka* to heap, Ka. *kuppaḷisu* to heap, amass, *kuppu* to heap up, *kuppe* a heap, pile, dunghill, *koppal* a heap, Te. *kuppa*, *kuvva* heap, Tu. *kuppe*, *guppe* heap, Go. [Maṛia dial.] *kupāhanā* gather, collect, *kupā kiyānā* to heap up, Kuvi *kūpa* a mound : Malt. *qope* a heap, a pile; vb. to heap, to pile up, *qopre* to come together, assemble, Kur. *k̲h̲oppnā* to form into a heap, pile up, *k̲h̲oprnā* to be heaped up.

Ta. *kuḻai* tender leaf, sprout, shoot; [vb.] to cause to sprout or shoot forth, *koḻuntu* tender twig, tendril, sprout, shoot, *koḻumai* freshness, as of shoots, Ma. *koḻunnu*, *koḻuntu* tender twig, Kui *kōṛu* a new shoot, fresh stalk, stem, or bud, *kōṛa* a shoot, sprout, first sprout, *koṛgari* [pl. *koṛgai*] a new shoot, fresh stalk, Go. *kōṛsānā* to sprout, grow, of trees etc.: Kur. *k̲h̲ōrnā* to shoot out new leaves, *k̲h̲ōr* leaf-bud, new leaves, Malt. *qōroce* to sprout; Skt. lw. *kōraka* a bud.[3]

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1. The same idea is behind the etymology of Skt. *aravinda*. Cf. Te. *araviri* a flower half-opened, Ka. *areviri* to half open. Skt. °*vinda* is a contracted form of what appears more fully in the Ta. part. *virinta*. The idea is " opening half the time".

2. The IA. words for " mast" are derived from this: Skt. Pa. *kūpa-*, *kūpaka-*, Pkt. *kūva*, *kūvaya*, *kūvaga*, Sgh. *kum̃ba*.

3. All derived from a root meaning " young, fresh, tender, new " which appears also in the following words: Ta. *kuḻa* young, tender, *kuḻaku* youthfulness, beauty, infant, *kuḻakaṉ* a youth, a beautiful person; Skanda, *kuḻantai* infant, babe, childhood, *kuḻavi* infant, babe, young of certain animals, young of the vegetable kingdom, *kuḻavu* youth, tender age, Ka. *koḍa* tenderness, tender

Ta. *kōṭu* tusk, horn, branch, peak, *kōṭai* mountain, Ma. *kōṭu* end, corner, *kōṭi* corner, utmost point, *koṭi* top, extremity, Ka. *kōḍu* horn, branch, peak of a hill, *kuḍi* a pointed end, point, Tu. *kōḍu* horn, *koḍi* point, end, extremity, Te. *koḍi* tip, top, the end of a point or flame, Kui *kōju* [pl. *kōska]* horn, antler: Malt. *qōru* the end, the top as of a tree; Skt. lw. *koṭi-* end, top, highest point.

The change also takes place before *e*, *ē* as seen from the following examples:-

Ta. Ma. Te. *cevi* ear, Tu. *kebi*, Ka. *kivi*, Go. *kawi*: Brah. *k͟haf*, Kur. *k͟hebdā*, Malt. *qethwu*.

Ta. *ce*, *cēy*, etc., red, Ka. *ke-*, *kēsu*, *kisu* : Brah. *k͟hīsun* red, Kur. *k͟hēso* red; blood, Malt. *qēso* red, *qēsu* blood, *qēslo* reddish, *qēsolāre* to redden.

Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *kai* hand, Te. *cēyi*, Kui. *kaju* : Kur. *k͟hekkhā*, Malt. *qeqe*.

Ta. *cirai* to shave, Ma. *cirekka* to shave, scrape, Ka. *kere*, Tu. *kerepuni* : Kur. *k͟hercnā* to rub off, scour, Malt. *qerce* to scrape, *qēre* to shape, *qērtre* to be shaved.

The change outlined above must have taken place fairly early in these languages, because examples where it occurs in lws. from IA. - and such lws. are numerous in the languages as known to-day - are few in the extreme. There is in Kur. an adverb *khanē* [also *k͟hanē*] meaning "at that moment" which appears obviously to be derived MI. *khaṇa-* < Skt. *kṣaṇa-* moment. Apart from this the only example is the

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age, youth, *koṇasu* a young one of wild beasts, Te. *koḍuku* a son, *krotta* new, fresh, *krov-viri* a fresh flower or blossom. IA. words derived from this are Skt. *kuṇaka-* a young animal just born, Khar. Doc. *kuḍaga* small boy, *kuḍi* girl, Pj. *kuṛī* girl, etc. Cf. also Sgh. *kolu* a lad, *koli* a girl (-*ḷ*- ?). Sant. Muṇḍ *kuṛi* girl may have been derived from Dravidian through Indo-aryan.

interesting Brah. word *k͟hōlum* wheat < Skt. *godhūma*. The original **k*- in Brah. < Skt. *g*- shows that the word must have been borrowed at a time when Brah., like Tamil and the parent Dravidian language, was still devoid of initial voiced plosives.[1] Before *i*, *ī* initial *k*- is preserved in Brah. Kur. Malt. in all Dravidian words. The forms in question have been enumerated above in connection with the palatalization of initial *k*- in Tamil and Telugu, and can here be briefly recapitulated:-

Ta. *kiṇṭu*, *keṇṭu* to dig into, poke, cut as meat, Te. *ceṇḍu* : Malt. *kiṇḍe* to cut flesh or fish. The reason for the vowel alteration *i*/*e* in this word is not clear. That, however, does not affect the validity of the equation Ta. *kiṇṭu*—Malt. *kiṇḍe* as an example of this rule.

Ta. Ma. *kiṭṭu* to draw near, reach, Ka. Te. *kiṭṭu*, *giṭṭu*, Tu. *giṭṭa* proximate, near: Malt. *kitre* to approach, *kiṭe* near, nigh.

Kur. *kilkilā* a kind of woodpecker; Ta. *ciccili*, etc.

Ta. Ma. *kiḻḻu* to pinch, nip, Te. *gillu*, Tu. *kinkuni*, Kuvi *kicali*, Kui *kisa*, Go. *kiskāna*, *kiccānā* : Brah. *kishking* to pluck. Kur. Malt. *kiss*- to take out a thorn from the flesh.

Ta. *cī*, *cīḻ*, *cittai* pus, matter, Ka. *kī*, *kīvu*, Te. *cīmu*, etc. : Brah. *kīsh* pus, muscus of the nose, Kur. *kittnā* to rot, become putrid, Malt. *kite*.

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1. DS., i. It thus provides additional evidence for the conclusions reached in that paper. Similar cases in various Drav. languages are Kuvi *tīma* an island < Pkt. *dīva* < Skt. *dvīpa*, Toda *tīv* life ◁ **cīv* < *jīva*-, Go. *kōdā* horse < Pkt. *ghoḍaa*-, Malt. *tanyare* to become rich < Skt. *dhana*, etc., *tātru* a scythe or sickle < Skt. *dātra*-, Ka. *purbu* brow < Skt. *bhru*-, Ka., Te., Tu. *titti* leather bag, Ka. also *tidi* bellows < Skt. *dṛti*. All these words must have been borrowed from IA. at a time when the languages in question were still devoid of initial sonants and consequently substituted the corresponding surd.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *kiḻ* below etc. : Brah. *ki–*, *kī–*, *kē–* below *kēragh* lower side, bottom, Kur. *kiyyā* beneath, *kītā* or *kiyyantā* lower, lowermost : inferior in rank. In this case Brah. *-ē–* is secondary.

Ta. Ma. *kīṟu* to slit, tear, slice, cut, gash, scratch, Ka. *kīṟu*, *gīṟu* to scratch, Tu. *kīrụ* a split, rift; a scratch, *kīruni* to split; to scratch, Te. *cīru* to gash, rend, scratch, slice, Go. Mar. [Lind.] *kīr* a wound : Malt. *kithre* to split wood.

Initial *k–* is also preserved before *-ī-* in Kur. *kīṛā* hunger, Malt. *kīṛe* hunger, thirst, appetite, famine. Here, however, the related Dravidian languages have *ā–* as the radical vowel where Kur. Malt. have *-ī–* and the relation between the two is obscure. The forms in the other languages are: Ta. *karuppu* famine, Te. *kaṟavu*, Go. *karū* hunger, *karū sāyānā* to starve, Kol. *kārut* with hunger [LSI., iv, 564].

There do not seem to be any genuine exceptions to the rules as formulated here for the treatment of initial *k–* in the three languages. Where such are quoted,[1] either the etymology is doubtful, or the word in question has been borrowed by IA.from Drav. and reborrowed from there into these languages. An example quoted is Brah. *karrak* bank, shore : Ta. *karai*, Ma. Te. *kara*, Ka. Tu. *kare*; but we also find Bal. *kharagh* id. Similarly Brah. *kallar* saline soil, which appears to correspond to Ta. *kaḷar* id.; but we also find Bal. *kallar*, Jaṭkī *kalar*, Si. *kalar*^{u}. It seems that these words are Dravidian in origin which have been borrowed into the languages of this area, but not from Brahui in its present form. Either they have been taken from Brah. at a time previous to the sound change *k* > *kh* in that language, or, as is always possible,

1. E.g. by Ramaswamy Aiyar, loc. cit., p. 547.

they may be derived from some extinct form of Dravidian. In any case the Brah. words are to be regarded as reborrowings and not genuine Brah. forms.[1]

A good example of a word which is in origin Dravidian, has become generalized in Indo-aryan, and then has been reborrowed into Brahui, etc., is the word for "house, hut", which with its derivatives appears in the following forms :–

Ta. *kuṭi* house, hut, home, family, *kuṭikai* a hut made of leaves, *kuṭical* hut, *kuṭicai* small hut, cottage, *kuṭiñai* id., *kuṭil* hut, shed, *kuṭaṅkar* hut or cottage, *kaṭumpu*[2] family, household, relations, Ma. *kuṭi*, *kuṭiññil*, *kuṭil*, Ka. *kuḍi*, *kuḍu* a peasant, *guḍi* house, tent, temple, *guḍisalu*, *guḍil* a hut with a thatched roof, Tu. *guḍi* a small pagoda or shrine, *guḍicilu* a hut or shed, Te. *guḍi* a temple, *guḍise* hut, cottage, hovel, Kui *kūṛi* hut, *kumbu* [< **kuṛmbu*] house, balance word of *iḍu*. The loanwords in Indo-aryan Skt. *kuṭa–*, *kuṭi-*, *kuṭī* hut, cottage, house, *kuṭīkā* a small house, *kuṭīra* hut or cottage, *kuṭuṅgaka* arbour or bower, *kuṭīcaka–* a class of ascetics [living in huts], *kuṭumba* household, [prob.] *kuḍya* wall, Pa. *kuṭi*, *kuṭikā*, Pkt. *kuḍī*, Mar. *kuḍī*, Sgh.*kiḷi*, Be. *kuṛiyā*, etc.[3] Brah. *kuḍī*, *kuḍḍī* hut, small house is reborrowed

1. Cf. Sir Denys Bray's remarks (*Brah. Lang.*, ií, p. 28) "... On the contrary Indian and Iranian philologists are nownd again brought up against the whole question of Dravidian words, a this time Brāhūī loanwords in particular in Balōchī, Sindhī, Jaṭki and even Pashto". The words under discussion suggest that often it may not be a question of Brah. words in particular.

2. For the confusion of *a* and *u* here, compare Ta. *kaṭai* to churn with a churning rod, Ma. *kaṭayuka*, Ka., Tu. *kaḍe* to churn, to stir up: Ta. also *kuṭai* to churn; of Skt. (lw.) *kuṭhara* (or *kuṭara*) the post round which the string of a churning stick winds. Instances can be multiplied.

3. Professor Turner classes Nep. *kuri* hole, mouse-hole, with these words. It can be more easily explained, as far as meaning is concerned, out of another Dravidian word: Ta., Ka. *kuḻi* hole , pit, etc. Tu. *kuḍe* a rat's hole (treated below).

from Indo-aryan as also are Kur. *kuṛyā* a small shed or outhouse, Malt. *kuṛya* a hut in the fields.

Malt. *kuṇḍa* a large earthen pot, *kuṇḍi* a pool, a reservoir, Kur. *kuṇḍā* a large vessel used in distilling, *kūṇḍḍī* a deep pit are to be accouuted for in the same way· From the Dravidian root *kuḻ*- "hollow, a hollow, to be hollow, to hollow out" a rich family of words is derived: Ta. *kuḻi* to be hollowed out as a hole, pit, or cavity; [tr.] to from pits, hollows, cavities; [sb.] pit, hole, hollow, cavity; tank, pond, *kuḻici* a hollow vessel, pot, *kuḻiṅ-kai* hollow of the hand, *kuḻumpu* a pit, *kuḻal* hollow tube, pipe, etc., *kuḻāy* tube, pipe, tubular cavity, *kuḻai* hole, tube, pipe, *kuṭam* hollow vessel, waterpot; hub of a wheel, *kuṭaṅ-kai* hollow of the hand, *kuṭantam* pot, *kuṭantai* old name of the town Kumbakonam, *kuṭā* cavity, hollow, cavern, *kuṭikai* ascetic's pitcher, *kuṭuvai* vessel with a small, narrow mouth, ascetic's pitcher, *kuṭai* to hollow out, bore, etc.; [sb.] anything hollow, hollow vessel of ola-leaves for drinking from, umbrella, *kuṭaivu* hollow, cavity, *kuṭṭam* depth; tank, pond, *kuṭṭai* pool, small pond, *kuṇṭu* depth, sinking in, hollowness, *kuṇṭam* deep cavity, pit; pool, tank; fire-pit; small hollow vessel with narrow mouth, *kuṇṭikai* ascetic's pitcher, *kuṇam* water-pot, pitcher, Ma. *kuḻa* what is hollow; loophole, eye of a needle, etc., *kuḻal tube*, flute, *kuḻi* a hollow, hole, excavation; pit, grave, *kuḻiyuka* to become hollow, deepened, *kuḻikka* to dig a hole, *kuṭam* waterpot, *kuṇṭu* what is hollow and deep, hole, pit, Ka. *kuḻi, kuṇi, guḻi, guṇi* to make a hale, excavate, *kuḍite* the hollow of the hand, *koḍe* to hollow out, excavate, *koḍa* hollow vessel, pitcher, pot, *koḻavi* tube, *kuṇṭe* pit, pool, pond, *kuṇḍa* a hole in the ground, pit, pond; pot, pitcher, *koṇḍa* id., *guṇḍi* hole, pit, hollow; the pit of the stomach; a large round earthen or metal vessel, *guṇḍige* the pit of the stomach; a pot. *guḍuvana, guḍāṇa* a large earthen pot, Tu. *kurepini, korepini* to bore, excavate, *kuḍe* a rat's hole, *kuṇḍa* a pit, *koṇḍa* pit,

hole, firepit, *guṇḍi* abyss, depth, great hole, Te. *groyyi, goyyi* hole, pit, *kuṇṭa, guṇṭa* pond, pit, *kuṇḍamu* pit [ts.], *kuṇḍa* earthen pot or pitcher, *kuṇḍu* a cistern, *kuḍaka* cup, bowl; any ccp-like concave thing, *guḍaka* a coco-nut or similar other shell, *goḍugu* an umbrella, *gunta* pit, hollow, depression, *kukki* a pit, hollow [< krukki], Kui *kṛāū* pit, hole, cave, *kṛūpa* a pond, pool, krōḍua tube, quiver, *grōḍa* the scoop or receptacle made by holding both hands together. Skt. *kuṇḍa* bowl-shaped vessel, pitcher, pot; a round hole in the ground [for receiving and preserving water or fire; cf. *agni-kuṇḍa*]' pit, well, is derived from Dravidian [Ta. *kunṭu*, etc.] as is clear, among other things, from the characteristic combination of meanings. The word appears very early in Sanskrit,, being already found in the Ṛgveda, and is preserved throughout Indo-aryan [Nep. Dic. s.v. *kūṛo*]. As already observed the Kur. and Malt. words are reborrowings from IA.[1]

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1. Another Skt. word belonging to the same Dravidian group is *kuṭa-* pot. The word is not at all common, or attested very early. BR. quote only from lexica, a few references to literature being added in Schmidt's *Nachträge*. Likewise it is absent from the earlier Pali literature, though it turns up in the later texts (Jātaka prose, Comm., etc.). It appears to be a late loanword, borrowed in the south, in all probability direct from Tamil, and never to have had a very wide currency. The common word for "pot" in Skt, and the derived languages is *ghaṭa* (Pkt. *ghaḍa*, Hi. *ghaṛā*, etc.), which, though it is not obvious at first sight, is another adaptation of the same Drav. word. It represents a Drav. **goḍa*< *koḍa* (Ka.) with secon dary voicing. As evident from the list given above such secondary voicing is common in Ka. and Te in words of this group, and though the form in question is not actually attested, it must have been current at some time in the Ka.- Te. area, parallel with the other related words in *g-*. It would not be surprising if it should turn up in an inscription or a dialect. Given the form **goḍa* the derivation of Skt. *ghaṭa* presents no difficultics. Skt *gh-* represents Drav. *g-*(<*k-* with secondary voicing) also in *ghūka* owl: Ta. *kūkai*, Ka. *gūge*, Te. *gūbe*, Drav. short *o* is foreign to the phonetic system of Sanskrit, and is normally replaced by short *a*: e.g. Skt. *pala, palala* flesh: Ta. *pulavu, pulāl* Te. *pola, polasu*; Skt. *mallikā* jasmine: Ta. *mullai*. Ka. *molle*, Te.

Brah. *kur* flock of sheep or goats, is not connected [as Sir Denys Bray suggests] with Ta. Ma. *koṟi* sheep, Ka. *kuṟi* Tu. *kuri*, Te. *goṟṟe*, but as lw. from Si. *kur*ᵘ Skt. *kula* herd, troop, flock, tribe, race etc. The Sanskrit word itself is derived from Dravidian: Ta. *kuḻu* assembly, flock, herd, swarm, shoal, *kuḻumpu* id., *kuḻumu* to collect, assemble, gather together, *kuḻuvu* id., *kuḻūu* assembly, crowd, *kuḻām* herd, flock, crowd, shoal.[1]

Likewise Brah. *kuṭṭing* to pound, *kuṭṭa* bruised, Malt. *kuṭye* to nail, to drive in a peg, *koṭye* to wound by scratching, are derived from the IA. words mentioned above, which themselves go back to Dravidian. There is no need to add further examples. It is sufficiently clear that such words have to be discounted when dealing with the treatment of Drav. initial *k*– in the three northern languages, and when this is done, and doubtful etymologies are disregarded, there is no evidence that the rules as stated above are liable to any exceptions, i.e., Drav. *k*- becomes *kh* in Brah. and Kur. and *q* in Malto before all vowels except *i*, where it is retained.

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molla, etc. The intervocalic -*ṭ*- is naturally a mere Sanskritization of Pkt -*ḍ*-. There is also in Skt. a rare word *kulija* which is quoted from the *kauśika-sūtra* in the sense of "pot, vessel", and from *pāṇini* in the sense of a certain measure. This is another lw. from Drav. and can be compared with Ta. *kuḻici* pot. It has been further suggested that Skt. *kuḍava* (also written *kutapa*, *kuḍapa*) a measure of grain is connected here. The word, however, cannot very well be separated from Ta. *kuḷakam* dry or liquid measure, Ka. *koḷaga*, *koḷagu*, *kuḷa*, *koḷa* a measure of capacity: 4 *baḷḷas*, Tu. *koḷaga* a measure of grain. These words are naturally to be connected with the root *koḷ*- (what a thing takes or holds): cf. Te. *kolapātramu* a measure, a vessel of measurement, *kolata* measurement, *kolādi* measure), and in that case are naturally to be separated from the words under discussion.

1. Further Skt. words derived from this Drav. base are *kulāya* nest, Pa *kulāvaka* ; with the -*m*- suffix of Ta. *kuḻumu kulmi* herd (TS. *gavāṃ kulmi*; it appears to be a hapax legomenon), and with secondary voicing of the initial *k*- *gulma* group, cluster, etc,; Ka. *gummu*, *gummi* mass, crowd (*< *kuḻm*-); probably also *grāma* multitude, troop; village: Ta. *kuḻām*.

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES IV

THE BODY IN DRAVIDIAN AND URALIAN

BISHOP CALDWELL, the founder of the comparative study of the Dravidian languages, was interested not only in the relationship of those languages among themselves, but also in the question of their connection with other families of languages outside India. His investigations in this direction led him to believe that the Dravidian languages are connected with what he called the "Scythian" family of languages. By the term "Scythian" Caldwell referred mainly to the Ural-Altaic languages, though occassionally using the word in a rather wider sense than that. Within the "Scythian" family he held that it was possible to define the position of Dravidian even more closely, by attaching it to the Finno-ugrain group in particular.[1] The evidence which Caldwell offered in support of this theory consisted partly of grammatical features which he held to be common to the languages concerned, and partly of comparisons of vocabulary. The former are to be found scattered through the body of his work, and the latter are collected together in an appendix entitled "Glossarial Affinitits"[2] In presenting this theory Caldwell was quite modest in his claims; he admitted the possibility of being misled by accidental assonances, and claimed rather to have pointed the way to the possibilities of future research than to have demonstrated the relationship with any finality.

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1. Caldwell[3], p. 68. "The Scythian family to which, on the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied, is the Finnish or Ugrian....."

2. Ibid. pp. 610–624.

Caldwell was not alone in propounding this theory. Similar conclusions were reached by Max Muller, who used the term "Turanian" in the sense Caldwell used "Scythian".[1] Among others who came out in support of this theory mention may be made of C. Schoebel, who defended it at the First International Congress of Orientalists in a paper entitled "Affinites des langues Dravidiennes et des langues Ouralo-altaiques".[2]

Though enjoying considerable popularity for a time, Caldwell's doctrine was eventually either ignored or rejected by philologists. It is worth while examining the reasons advanced at the time for this rejection. They are to be found most lucidly and ably expressed in a paper read by P. Hunfalvy at the Second International Congress of Orientalists entitled "On the Study of the Turanian Languages".[3] His main criticism is against the vagueness of the methods used, particularly by Max Muller in classifying the "Turanian" languages. He objects with justice to the latter's statement that "the very absence of family likeness constitutes one of distinguishing features of the Turanian dialects"[4], and proceeds to show that in the case of the Finno-ugrian languages at any rate this was the reverse of true, and that in their case the same detailed etymological correspondences,

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1. *Letter on the Classification of the Turanian Languages*, published in Bunsen's *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, vol i. pp. 263–521. London, 1854. Caldwell's first edition was published in 1856, but his work was independent of Max Muller's and vice versa.

2. *Compte rendu de la premiere session*, ii pp, 348 ff. Paris, 1873.

3. *Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists*, pp. 64–97. London, 1874.

4. Max Müiler, *Lectures on the Science of Language*[6] i, p. 334.

the same regular sound-changes, and so forth could be demonstrated as were already familiar from Indo-European. Such detailed and indisputable relationships had not, he maintained, been yet shown to exist between Finno-ugrain and the other members assigned to the "Turanian group, and that until this had been done the question of their relationship must be regarded as unproved. Where Dravidian was concerned he had no difficulty in pointing out certain elementary mistakes which Caldwell and Max Muller had made owing to their lack of specialist knoweledge of Finn-ugrian languages. For the rest of the evidence, where such objections could not be offered, he held that there was not sufficient of it to justify the conclusions based on it. In his own words: "These numerous dialects form several distinct families each of which has its own nucleus which must be treated like the Finno-ugric family. The further question, whether those different nuclei point to one common nucleus, cannnot be answered in the present state of the knowledge of them we posses. The Turkish and Samojedian languages, which are geographically nearest to the Finno-ugric family, constitute two different nuclei, which cannot be included in the Finno-ugric one ...... The Dravidian languages have their source likewise in a different nucleus."[1]

Hunfalvy's objections were shared by his fellow-workers in the Finno-ugrian field, and from that time the question of Dravidian relationship has been to all intents and purposes ignored. The general attitude was expressed by O. Donner: "Die von Rask und Max Muller geschaffene einheit der nordasiatischen sprachen mit den dravidischen wird wohl jetzt überall als eine geistreiche hypothese betrachtet . . . ."[2]

1. Loc. cit., p. 89

2. *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti tenuto in Firenze nel settembre* 1878. Tom. ii, p. 232 Firenze, 1881.

The theory was not disproved, it was merely regarded as unproven unless further evidence were forthcoming. The subject was, however, taken up by no one half a century after Caldwell, naturally enough, since from that time hardly anybody studied the Dravidian languages at all. The few people who paid any attention to Dravidian showed no inclination to follow Caldwell in this matter and while the question seems never to have been re-examined by any scholar, in general scepticism prevailed. In the Liguistic Survey of India[1] Sten Konow remarks: "With regard to the Dravidian languages the attempt to connect them with other linguistic families outside India is now generally recognized as a failure, and we must still consider them as an isolated family".

It was not until 1925 that any further attempt was made to develop the thesis propounded by Caldwell. This was an aritcle by F. O. Schrader entitled "Dravidisch and Uralisch".[2] In returning to Caldwell's theory Schrader consideraly simplified its terms of reference, in as much as he left out of account all question of relationship with the Altaic languages and others included by Caldwell under the term "Scythian", and confined himself to a comparison of Dravidian languages on the one hand and the Uralian languages, i.e. Finno-ugrain and Samoyede on the other. As to the exact nature of the relationship of the two groups of languages he did not take up a very clear position as is clear from his own words: "Ich will zu zeigen versuchen, das zwischen der dravidischen Familie einerseits und der uralischen, d.h. der finnisch-ugrisch-samojedischen, anderseits ein historischer Zucammenhang besteht, der wenn nicht als Urverwandtschaft so durch vorgeschichtliche Nachbarschaft und seher intime einseitige oder gegenseitige Beeinflussung erklärt werden muss."[3]

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1. Vol. iv p. 282 [1906]
2. *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, iii, pp. 81–112.
3. Op. cit, p. 83

Schrader bases his argument on phonetic structure, word formation, and correspondences in grammar and vocabulary. In presenting this material he adds considerably to the somewhat slender evidence produced by Caldwell, and, as might be expected from the advances in linguistic science in the intervening period, the material is on the whole more reliable. This does not mean that the percentage of error is negligible; on the contrary it is quite easy to pick put false equations page by page. Nevertheless, even allowing for all this, there remains enough material against which no obvious objections can be raised, to make the subject worthy of renewed serious attention.

In effect little notice was taken of Schradar's article. His line of argument was attacked by E. Lewy,[1] who maintained that all the facts adduced by him could be explained by the normal workings of chance and that an equal number of correspondences could be found between any two unrelated languages or language-groups in the world. In support of this Lewy produced a list of sixty Kechuan words similar in form and meaning to sixty Finnish words which he placed beside them. The answer to this argument is that the correspondences in vocabulary between Dravidian and Uralian are far more numerous than the list of sixty which Schrader had given and Lewy parodied. It is possible to produce a longer list of words dealing with the body and its parts alone, as is done below. It would not be possible to produce between any two languages the same amount of detailed comparisons as can be made between Dravidian and Uralian without giving reason to believe that those languages were themselves related. Because however Schrader's article contained only a fraction

1. In the course of a review of W. Schmidt's *Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkrise der Erde in Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprach forschung*, lvi [1928], pp. 142–159.

of the available material, it was possible for Lewy to use this method with some plausibility, and his arguments seem to have had considerable effect, since no further notice was taken of Schrader's article from the Finno-ugrian side.

A work published shortly afterwards by W. von Hevesy purporting to prove that the Muṇḍā or Kolarian languages of India are related to Finno-ugrian, is deserving only of being passed over in silence.[1] Unfortunately it seems to havə impressed Schrader, a fact which tends to throw doubt on his own competence to deal with the matter. In consequence we find him returning to the subject with an article entitled *On the "Uralian" element in the Drāviḍa and Muṇḍā Language.*[2] in which he attempts to reconcile his own docrines with those of Hevesy. They cannot, of course, be reconciled if is assumed that Dravidian and Uralian are related languages in the proper sence of the term, i.e. descended from the same original language, since the Dravidian and Kolarian languages are obviously unrelated. Schrader had, however, in the first place been undecided whether to assume genetic relationship or prehistoric mutual influence, and now influenced by Hevesy, he is inclined to believe that the latter theory can be applied to both groups of languages. This leads him to some implausible theorizing about two different streams of "Urlians" having entered India and influenced the one the Dravidian and the other the Kolarian languages before presumably their own languages died out. This and the alternative theories he offers[3] do not carry much conviction, nor is there any reason why the common material of Dravidian and Uralian should not be explained by the theory of genetic relationship, while

1. *Finnisch - ugrisches aus Indien,* Wien, 1932. See the review by R. L. Turner, *JRAS.*, 1934, pp. 799 ff.

2. *BSOS.*, VIII., 751–762

3. Op. cit., p. 762.

the evidence for a relationship between Uralian and Kolarian is easily seen on examination to be illusory.

In returning to the subject in this paper Schradar adds somewhat to his material by giving a list of words denoting parts of the body which he regards as common to Dravidian and and Uralian. This list contains seventy items, out of which between a quarter and a third constitute acceptable equations. In view of the large percentage of error in this list, it is unlikely to create much impression on the reader without considerable improvement. Consequently I propose to take up the subject where Schrader left it and as a first instalment of evidency supporting the theory of Dravinan-Uralian relationship present the following list of etymologies of words applying to the body and its parts. A thoroughgoing correspondence between the two groups of languages emerges quite clearly in this respect, a correspondence which is particularly valuable since this part of the vocabulary is classed among the most primitive and essential elements of language. For the time being the list may be left to speak for itself, though here and there phonetic developments are briefly discussed. For the rest details of phonology and other questions that arise are reserved for further contributions to this series.

Word-equations

1. Ta. *talai* "head; top, end, extremity, tip" (*iru talai* 'both ends" *vēṟattiṉ talai maruppu* "the tip of an elephant's tusk") | Ma. *tala* "head; top, point, extremity" (*nāttala* "the tip of the tongue"), *talakkam* "the top of a tree", *talappu* "id." | Ka. *tale* "head; being uppermost of principle" | Tu. *tare* "head; top; hair of the head" | Te, *tala* "head; top, end, summit; hair of the head" | Kui *tlau* (pl. *tlāka*) "a head; the hair of the head"; Kuvi *trāyu* "head" | Go. *talā* "head" | Malt. *tali* "hair of the head".

~Osty. *təi*, *toi*, etc., "gipfel, kopf, spitze" | Vog. *tol'ax*, *tal'ax*, etc., "gipfel spitze, ende; oberer lauf des flusses" | Voty. *tul'im* "die oberen zarten sprösslinge des baumes. (Wichmann, *FUF*. xi, 208 and 229, Sauv. 69.)

The semantic developments are quite clear. The original meaning ls "end, tip, top" in general which in Dravidian is increasingly specialized in the sense of "head". Tne meaning "hair of the head", which only occurs in some languages, is the latest developed of all. In Malto this last signification has survived at the expense of the original meaning.

Sauvageot, loc. cit., finds in Altaic a parallel to the Finno-ugrian words in Mo. *tolo'ai* "tête, summet, source". In this connection it may be observed that Caldwell proposed to equate the Mangolian and Dravidian words. (*Comp. Gr.*[3] 620.)

2. Ta. *imai* "eyelid, winking with the eye; (vb.) to wink", *nimai* id., *cimiṟ* "to wink, blink" | Ma. *cima* "eyelid, eyelash", *ima* "eyelid", *imekka* "to blink" | Ka. *eme*, *eve* "eyelid", *cimuṭv* "to wink" | Tu. *simme*, *sime*, *ime* "eyelid" || Cf. Balochi *chimāk* "eyelid", apparantly a lw. from Dravidian, though the word does not seem to be found in the neighbouring Brahui.

~LpN. *čalbme* "oculus" | Fi. *silmä* "auge" | MdE. *śel'ḿe* | Voty. *śim*; Zyr. *śin* | Vog. *šäm* | Osty. *sèm* | Hg. *szëm* "id." | SamT. *śaime*, K. *sima*, Mot. *sime*, Taigi *šime-dä* "id." (Beitr. no. 23, Verw, 52, Wichmann, *FUF*, xv, 42, VUr. 42).

Two characteristics of the phonetics of South Dravidian are illustrated by these words: (1) Initial *c/s* tends to be dropped, and while none of the languages is quite consistent in this respect, it may be observed that the tendency is carried furthest in Tamil, particularly in the dialect which forms the basis of the classical language. Similar examples

to be found in the present list are Ta. *akkuḷ* "armpit", etc. (no. 27), and Ta. *īr* "nit", etc. (no. 57). (2) Another feature is comparative instability on the part of initial *n*-, which may be put on at the beginning of words where it does not belong, as here in Ta. *nimai*, and in other cases may be dropped when it is original. A good parallel to Ta. *nimai* is to be found in Te. *neṟaka* "wing" : Te. also *eṟaka*, *ṟekka*, Ta. *iṟaku* also *ciṟaku*. Among Dravidian-Uralian correspondences the following provides a good example : Ta. Ma. *nīntu* "to swim": Ka. *īju*, *īsu*, Tu. *īcuni*, *ījuni* ~Fi. *uida* "to swim", Md. *ujems*, Cher. *ijam*, Osty. *ūčəm*, Hg. *úszik* "id."

The peculiar semantic change in Dravidian is due to the fact that the regular Dravidian word for eye, Ta. Ma. Ka. *kaṇ*, is nothing else than the root of the verb meaning "to see" (*kaṇ*-, *kāṇ*-) which has extended its functions at the expense of the old word for "eye" with corresponding restriction of the latter's sphere of reference.

3. Ta. *nuṉai* "point, tip, end", *nuṉi* "id." | Ma. *nuni* "tip".

~LpN. *njudne*, *njune* "nase, schnauze" | Fi. *nenä* "nase, ende, spitze"; Est. *nina* "nase, vorstehendes ende, spitze, landzunge". (Donner, no. 956.)

The general meaning found in Dravidian is original, and the meaning "nose" is a specialized development in the Finno-ugrian languages.

4. Ta. Ma. *mūkku* "nose; bird's beak" | Ka. *mūgu* "nose, snout, beak" | Tu. *mūku* "nose, bill, beak" | Te. *mukku* "id."

~Fi. *nokka* "vorragendes, schnabel, nase spitze", *noukka* "schnabel"; Kar. *ńokka* "schnabel, spitze"; Est. *nokk* "schnabel, insektenrüssel, spitz, vorragendes". (Donner, no. 863.)

This equation assumes the change of initial *n*– to *m*– in the Dravidian words. Evidence that such a change can take place before the vowels *o* and *u* is to be found in the following words :–

Ta. *moḻḻu* "to draw water", Malt. *mulge* "id." : Ta. *noḻḻu* "to bail out, as water", *noḷku* "id.", Kui *nolpa* "to ladle out", Kur. *nollnā*, Malt. *lole* "id."

Ta. *moṇṭi* "lame", Te. *moṇḍi* "maimed", Tu. *mōṇṭu* "lameness; crookedness, bend", *mōṇṭuni* "to be lame, limp" : Ta.*noṇṭu* "to be lame, limp, hobble", *noṇṭi* "a lame person or creature", Ma. *noṇṭuka* "to limp", *noṇṭi* "a cripple".

Ta. *mnṟai* "cavern"; vb. *°tal* "to enter", *°ttal* "to pierce, bore", *muṟaiñcu* "hole, cave", *mūṟai* "a hollow place", *mōṟai* "cleft, crevice, subterranean watercourse", *mōṟai-vaṟi* "a narrow gate or opening", Ka. *mōḷe* "a small hole, a fissure" : Ta. *nuṟai* "to enter a hole, creep through; (tr.) to insert; (sb.) narrow passage, cave, aperture, window", *noṟuntu* "to insert", Ma. *nuṟayuka* "to creep in, squeeze through", Ka. *nusi* "to enter a door, etc.", *nusuḷ* "to enter a door or narrow opening", Tu. *nūruni* "to creep in, enter with difficulty", *nuripāvuni* "to press into a hole", *nurumpe* "a hole", Kur. *mulugnā* "to insert a thing into another", *nulgurnā* "to enter into or under".

Ta. *mō* "to smell", Ka. *mūsu*, Tu. *mūsuni*, Kui *mūnja*, Go. *muskānā* "id.": Kur. *nusungnā* "to smell".

Ta. *miṟuṅku* "to swallow" (more usually *viṟuṅku*), Ma. *miṟuṅṅu* "id." (less usually *viṟuṅṅu*), Ka. *miṅgu*, Te. *mriṅgu* "id.", Kur. *munkhnō* "to devour" : Ta. *nuṅku*, *noṅku* "to swallow, gulp, devour", also *noḻḻu* "id.", Ma *noṅṅu*. ka. *nuṅgu*, also *noṇe* "id.", Tu. *ninguni*, *niṅguḍuni*, Kur. *nunukhnā* "to swallow, gulp", Malt. *nunge* "id.", Brah. *nughushing* "to swallow, devour, gulp down". The Uralian words for

"swallow" are connected with the above and show that n-(< *ñ-) is original: LpN. *njiellat* "deglutire, devorare", Fi. *niellä* "schlucken, verschlingen", Md. *ńil'ems*, Cher. *neľäm*, Zyr. *ńilalni*, Voty. *ńilni*, *ńulini*, Vog. *ńoalt-*, etc., Osty. *ńel-*, Hg. *nyel-* "id."; SamJu. *ńallā*, T. *ńaltami'ema*, Je. *noddoabo* "id." The developments of the Dravidian forms are obviously, some what complicated, the main feature being the addition of a *k-* suffix to the original root. This appears everywhere except in Ta. *noḷḷu* and Ka. *noṇe* < **noḷe*.

Ta. *mūṉṟu* "there", *mūvar* "three persons", Ka. *mūṟu*, Tu. *mūji*; *muvveṟu*, *mūveṟu* "three persons", Te. *mūḍu*; *muguru*, *mugguru* "three persons", Go. *mūṇḍ*, Prj. *mūir* or *mundū*, Klm. *mūding*, Brah. *musi*, Kur. *mūnd* "three" (neut.); Kur. *nubb* "three" (masc. and fem.). Konow (*LSI.*, iv, 414) is inclined to regard the initial *n-* in Kur. *nubb* as due to dissimilation, and therefore secondary, a development which might be assisted by the initial *n-* of the immediately succeeding numeral, *naib* "four." On the other hand the fact that Kurukh shows a particularly strong tendency to preserve *n-* in the present list of examples and in the case of the words meaning "to smell" is the only language to do so, provides very good reason for regarding the *n-* in *nubb* as original. If this is the case we can compare the Samoyede words for "three" with the above Dravidian words: SamO. *nāgur*, *noagur*, *nar*, *noar* "three", Ju. *ńahar*, *ńar*, T. *nagur* "id."

A tendency to substitute initial *m-* for *n-* when it is followed by the vowels *-o-* or *-u-* emerges quite clearly from these examples, and in view of this evidence it can be said that the equation Ta. *mūkku*, etc., ~ Fi. *nokka*, etc., presnnts no phonetic difficulties from the Dravidian side. A similar example of Dravidian *m-* corresponding to Uralian *n*, *ń* is provided by the following words :-

Ta. *mūṅkā* "a species of mongoose", Ka. *muṅgi, muṅgisi, muṅguli, muṅguri*, Tu. *muṅgili, muṅguli* "a mongoose, ichneumon"; Te. *muṅgi, muṅgisa*, Go. *mungus* "id." ‖ >Pkt. *maṃguso, muggaso*, Mar. Hi. *maṃgūs, muṃgūs*, Sgh. *mugaṭi* "id."

~ Est. *nugis* "baummarder, Mustela Martes", Vog. *ńoχs* "zobel", Osty *ńoγə̂s* "id.", Hg. *nyuszt* "edelmarder", Zyr. Voty. *ńiź* "zobel".

Since a comparison of the Uralian words shows that Dravidian *m*– represents original n– (ñ–) here, we need have have no hesitation in regarding Skt. *nakuká*– m. (AV, etc.) as belonging to this group. It has been borrowed from some early Dravidian dialect in which the change *n*>*m* had not taken place in this word. The final *–ula* has a corresponding form in Ka. Tu. *muṅguli*.

5. Te. *cer̠ama* "nostril" | GoM. (Lind) *sutrīn* "id."

~ Fi. *sierain* (st. *sieraim*–) "nostril" | LpN. *siŋŋa: ŋjunne–s*. "pars mobilis narium"; LpL. *sēkŋa* "nasenloch" | Osty. *suŋ* "id." ‖ SamJu. *sī* "loch", *puije si* "nasenloch", T. *sie* "loch", O. *šȫter* "id." (Beitr. no. 265, Verw. 52.)

In this Uralian list complied by Setälä it is clearly possible that several different words have been confused. However, from among the words quoted, it is clear that there are unambiguous Dravidian and Uralian correspondences between Te. *cer̠ama* and Fi. *sierain*, as also between GoM. *sutrīn* and SamO. *šȫter*. A connection between the two pairs is indicated by Telugu *r̠* (as opposed to *r*), which points to an original *–t*– having disappeared before *–r*–.

6. Ta. *cevi* "ear", *ceviṭu* "deaf" | Ma. *cevi* "ear", *ceviṭu* 'ear (chiefly the inner part); deafness", *cekiṭu* "id.", *ceppi* "ear; cheek; earwax", *koviṭu* "cheek" | Ka. *kivi* "ear", *kivuḍu* "defeness", *keppu* "deafness" | Tu. *kēbi* "ear", *kebuṛe* "a

deaf man", *keppu* "deafness", *keppi* "a deaf woman", *keppe* "a deaf man", *keppè* "cheek" | Te. *cevi* "ear", *cevuḍu* "deaf" | Tod. *kev* "ear" | Go. *kawi*; GoM. *kev* | Klm. *kēv* | Kui *kriu*, *kiru*; Kuvi *kiriyu*, *krīyu* | Kur. *k̲h̲ebdā* | Malt. *qethwu* | Brah. *k̲h̲af* "id."

~Fi. *korva* "ear"; Est. *kõrw* "id." | Cher. *körž* "eine art ohrschmuck, ohrgehänge" (Donner, no. 128; Wichmann, *JSFOu.*, xxx, 6,23) || SamJu. *hā* "ear" | T. *kou* | Je. *kū*, *kō* | O. *kō*, *kuo* | K. *ku* "id."

I have already discussed the Dravidian words for "ear" in some detail (*BSOS.*, XI, 124–5). As pointed out there, the Kui word differs from the usual *kevi* in possessing an *-r-*. Furthermore this *-r-* appears in Tu. *ceraḍu* "ear" (<**keraṭu*: >Skt. *karaṭa* "an elephant's temple; the spot between the forehead and ear of a bird"), Tu. *kirmbilu* "earwax", Go. *korangeḍ*, Kuvi *kirpejja* "id." and also in Ta. *kuruṭu* "tragus". In view of these circumstances it was concluded that Drav. *kevi* must have lost an *-r-*, i.e. it must represent an original **kervi*. Likewise Ma. *ceppi* "ear; cheek" represents original **kerpi*. The conclusions reached in that paper are supported by the Finno-ugrian forms-Fi. *korva*, Est. *kõrw-*, where an *-r-* does appear in the position expected. In Samoyede, on the other hand, the *-r-* has been lost in the same way as in Dravidian. (Pr. Sam. **kow*<**korw*.)

The root of this word has a more extensive series of derivatives in Dravidian than are to be found in Uralian. Since we find the meaning "ear" combined with that of "cheek, side of the face, temple" in a number of the words quoted above (Ma. *ceppi* "ear: cheek"; Ma. *koviṭu* "cheek": *ceviṭu* "ear"; Tu. *ceraḍu* "ear": Skt. *karaṭu* "elephant's temple", etc.), it is obvious that the following words meaning "cheek" or "temple" are etymologically connected with the above: Te. *cerāpa*, *cempa* "cheek"; Te. *ceṅka*, *cekku*, *cekkili*,

Ka. *kekke* "id." (< **ker–k–*); Ta. *ceṉṉi* "elephant's temple", Ma. *cenni, kenni* "temples", *konni* "cheek", Ka. *kenne* "the upper cheek", Tu. *kenni, kenne* "cheek". This last group, representing original **kerni*, **kerne,* must originally have also had the meaning "ear", because from it is borrowed Skt. *kárṇa–* m. "ear". The Sanskrit word is of particular interest as belonging to the earliest of the loanwords from Dravidian, inasmuch as it is common to Indo–Aryan and Iranian: Av. *karəna–* "ear"; adj. "deaf", NP. *kar, karr* "deaf". The double meaning of the Avestan word provides additional evidence of its Dravidian origin, because this peculiar double meaning is characteristic of some of the Dravidian words. (Ma. *ceviṭu* "ear" and "deaf", etc.)

The vocalism of the Dravidian words presents some complications which cannot be discussed exhaustively here. The main feature of course is the prevalence of the vowel *–e–* in the Dravidian words, as opposed to *–o–* in Uralian. A parallel to this is found in the words meaning "bone": Ma. Tu. *elu*< **eleu̯* < **leu̯* as opposed to Fi. *luu*, Md. *lov–*, etc. < **lou̯* (no. 62). At the same time *–o–* appears beside *–e–* in some of the Dravidian words: Ma. *koviṭu* "cheek": *ceviṭu* "ear"; Ma. *konni* "cheek": *kenni, cenni* "temple"; Go. *korangeḍ* "ear wax": Tu. *kirmbilu* "id", etc.; to which may be added in view of the usual combination of meanings Go. *kōrwī* "cheek". In this connection mention may also be made of Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *koppu* "an ornament for the upper part of the ear worn by women" (< **korpu?*).

7. Ka. *pāle* "the lobe of the ear", *hāle, halle* "id." | Tu. *paḍe–tale* "the helix or border of the ear" | ? Kui *badi* "the lobe of the ear" (*bandi, bonde* "id.").

~LpL. *pēlyē* "ear" | Md. *pil'e* | Cher. *pələš* | Zyr. Voty. *pel'* | Vog. *päl'* | Osty. *pəl,* etc. | Hg. *fül* "id." (Beitr. no. 47.)

—Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 756. Skt. *pāli–* (usually in the cpd, *karṇa–pāli–*) "the tip or lobe of the ear" is clearly a loanword from Dravidian.

8. Te. *pukkili* "the inside of the cheek", *bugga* "cheek, inside of the cheek", *bukka* "the hollow of the mouth" | Ka. *buggi* "cheek" | GoM. (Lind) *phukā*, *bhukā* "id." | Kui *pūkul* "round faced, plump".

~Fi. *poski* "cheek" | Osty. *poχtəm*, *puɬləm*, *poɬəλ*, etc., "id." | Vog. *pajt*, *pōut*, etc., "id." || SamJu. *pādu* "cheek" | T. *fatua* | Je. *fāru*, *paede* | O. *pudal*, *pudöl*, *pūtal*, etc. | K. *pū'ma*, *poutmo* "id." (Verw. 52, Anl. 141.)

The Dravidian forms of this word are characterized by the assimilation of the intervocalic consonant group, typical of the "Prakritic" tendencies of Dravidian. The various forms also point to an original alternation on the part of this consonant group; i.e. Te. *pukkili* < **puski–* : Ka. *buggi* < **puzgi*. This kind of alternation is typical of the Uralian languages, and the feature is of course widely prevalent in Dravidian.

9. Ta. Ma. *vāy* "mouth; opening of a sack, etc.", *ō*, *ōvu* "door (of a sluice)" | Ka. *bāy* "mouth; the mouth of a vessel, bag, etc." | Tu. *bāyi* "mouth; opening" | Tod. *bōyi* "mouth"—Te. *vāyi* "id." | Kur. *bai* "mouth; aperture of a vessel" | Brah. *bā* "mouth" || A derivative of this word is found in the following ; Ta. *vāyil* "gate, doorway, entrance" | Ma. *vātil* | Ka. *bāgil* | Tu. *bākil* | Te. *vākili* "id."

~Fi. *ovi* "door" | LpN. *vuoŋas* "capistrum" | Md. *oŋ–*, *ov–*, *oj–* : *oŋkśt* (pl.), *ovks*, *ojkst* (pl.) "gebiss am zaum" | Cher. *aŋ*, *äŋ* "mündung, öffnung" | Zyr. *vom*, *om* "mund, mündung, öffnung"; Voty. *ym* "id." | Vog. *āβi* "tür" | Osty. *oŋ* "öffnung (einer flasche), mündung (eines flusses)" || SamJu. *ńāŋ* "mund" | T. *ŋāŋ* | O. *āŋ*, *oaŋ*, *eaŋ*, *āk* | K. *aŋ* "id." (Beitr. no. 41, Verw. 53.)

10. Te. *pedavi* "lip', | Tu. *bimma* | GoM. *pilvî* "id." | Klm. (Haig) *peddēl* "lips" (<**pedve-*).

~Lpn. *bovsa* "labrum", L. *pak̄sim* "lippe" | Vog. *pit́im pit́əm, pit́mi*, etc., "id." | Osty. *pətəm, pələm*, etc., "id." || SamJu. *pibt́e* "lippe" | T. *feabteŋ* | Je. *pite'* "id." | O. *peaptai* "kinn" | Mot. *hibdin* "mund" | Taigi *hapten-de* "lippe". (Beitr. no. 315, Stuf. 62–3, Verw. 53, Anl. 160, VUr. 45) — Schrader, *BSOS.*, VII, 757.

11, Te. *selavi* "a corner of the mouth" | Go. *silwī* "lip": GoM. *hilvī* "id."

~Fi. *huuli* "lip"; Est. *hūl'* "lippe, lippenrand, rand".

12. Ka. *tuṭi* "lip" (<**tur-ti*) | Go. *toḍḍī* "the mouth or face" | Malt. *toro* "mouth"; *tebo* "the lips" (<**ter-v-*).

~Fi. *turpa* "snout, muzzle", *tursa* "id." | MdE. *turva, torva*, M. *tərva* "lippe" | Cher. *târβə̂* "id." | Zyr. *tịrp*; Voty. *tịrpị* "lippe" || SamJe. *tero'o, tedo'o* "vorderkopf". (KonsP. 344, Sauv. 66.)

—Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 756.

13. Ta. *cuṇṭu* "beak, bill", *cuvavu* "bird's beak" | Ma. *cuṇṭu* "beak, bill; lips" | Ka. *cuñca* a bird's beak" | Kui *suḍa* "mouth, beak, brim" | Prj. *cōṇḍ* "mouth".

~Fi. *suu* "os, ostium"; Est. *sū* "mund" | LpL. *cuvva* "speiseröhre, schlund"; LpN. *codda* "gutter" | Vog. *sūnt* "öffnung, mündung" | Hg. *száď* "öffnung, orificium". (Paas., *s*-laute 98.)

14. Ta. Ma. *nāvu* "tongue"; *nā, nākku* "id." | Ka. *nālage, nālige* | Tu. *nālayi, nālāyi* | Tod. *nāf* | Te. *nālika, nāluka nālka* "id."

~LpN. *njalbme* "os, ostium" | Cher. *jilme, ńolme*, etc., "zunge, sprache" | Vog. *ńelm*, etc., "zunge" | Osty. *ńaləm* "zunge, sprache" | Hg. *nyelv* "id." || SamJu. *ńami* "zunge". (Beitr. no. 22, Verw. 53, VUr. 28.)

—Caldwell[3], 620; Schrader, *ZII.*, iii, 95; *BSOS.*, VIII, 757.

The word for "lick" in both groups of languages is etymologically connected with the word for "tongue". In Dravidian we have Ta. Ma. *nakku* "to lick", Ka. *nakku, nekku,* Tu. *nakkuni,* Te. *nāku,* Go. *nākānā,* Kui *nāka.* All these words in Dravidian are characterized by a *k*-suffix before which the final *-l* of the root has disappeared by assimilation. (Ta. Ma. *nakku*<**nalku*; Te. *nāku*<**nālku*; cf. the assimilation in Ta. *nākku* "tongue": Te. *nāluka,* etc.) In Uralian, on the other hand, there is no *k*-suffix in the case of the words meaning "to lick": LpN. *njoallot* "lingere, lambere", Fi. *nuolla* "lecken", Md. *nolams,* Cher. *nulem,* Zyr. *ńul-,* Voty. *ńuli-,* Hg. *nyal-* "id." ‖ SamK. *ńüľäm* "id." (Beitr. no. 72.)

15. Ta. Ma. Ka. *pal* "tooth" | Tu. *paru* | Tod. *parrsh* | Te. *palu, pallu* | Kui *palu, paḍu*; Kuvi *pallu* | Go. *pal* | Kur. *pall* | Malt. *palu* "id."

~Fi. *pii* "flintstein; spitze, zapfen" | LpN. *badne* "zahn" | MdE. *pej, pev, päj, peŋ,* M. *pej* "zahn" | Cher. *pü, püı̄* "id." | Zyr. *pińi* "zahn, zacke, scharte"; Voty. *pińi* "zahn, zacke, zinke" | Vog. *päŋk,* etc., "zahn" | Osty. *peŋk* | Hg. *fog* "id."

The Finno-ugrian forms of this word, as opposed to the Dravidian, are characterized by the loss of final *-l.* A number of examples can be quoted to show that the loss of *l* in a final position was characteristic of Finno-ugrian. The loss occurs, for instance, in Osty. *toı̄* "summit, head"< **tol,* which is quoted above (no. 7). In this case we find that the *l* is preserved when it is not final: Vog. *toľax,* etc. Another example is the negative: Ta. *al* "not", *allen̲* "I am not", *allēm* "we are not", *allar, alar* "they are not" *celvār allar* "they do not go", *varuvai allai* "you will not come", *tuñc-alam* "we do not sleep", etc. ~Fi. *en mene* "I do not

go", *et mene* "you do not go", *ei mene* "he does not go", etc. (Szinnyei, Spr.^{2} 117). In the case of this word the final -*l* which has for the most part disappeared in the Finno-ugrian forms, turns up in the imperative in Finnish—*äl'ä mene* "do not go", where it has been preserved by a succeeding vowel.

As further examples the following can be quoted:—

Ta. *al* "night, darkness, evening", *el* "night", Ma. *al* "darkness, night", Klm. (Haig) *ālē* "night", Gōlarī (*LSI*., iv, 388) *ullī* "night". ~Fi. *yö* "night", LpN. *igja*, Md. *v́ej*, *v́e*, Zyr. *oj*, Voty. *uj*, Osty. *əį*, Vog. *ī*, *īī*, Hg. *ėj* "id." (KonsP. 58.)

Ta. Ma. Ka. *kal* "stone, rock, mountain", Te. Tu. *kallu* "stone", Brah. *k̲h̲al* "id." ~Fi. *kivi* "stone", Md. *ḱeu*, Cher. *kü*, Zyr. *ki*, Voty. *kö*, Vog. *käβ*, Osty. *keu̯*, Hg. *kő* "id." | SamO. *kè*, *kī*, K. *kawa* "mountain". (Verw. 87.)

Ta. Ma. Ka. *pul* "grass", Tu. *pullu* "a rush, a kind of grass", Te. Tod. *pullu* "grass". ~Hg. *fű* "grass", Vog. *pum*, Osty. *pùm* "id."

A general rule emerges quote clearly from these examples, and accounts satisfactorily for the equation Ta., etc., *pal*~Md. *pej*, Cher. *püį*, etc. It does not, of course, account for the final *k*/*g* in the Ugrian forms, which must therefore be regarded as a suffix.

16. Ta. *īṟu* "the gums of the teeth" | Ka. *īṟu*, *igaru* "id." | Te. *iguru* "id."

~Hg. *íny* "gingiva, palatum" | Fi. *ijen*, pl. *ikenet* "the gums"; Est. *ige*, g. *igeme* "id." (Bud. no. 897.)

17. Ta. *coḷḷu* "dribbling at the mouth, as of a child", *cāḷai* "dribble, saliva flowing from the mouth" | Ka. *jollu* "saliva, slaver" | Tu. *jolle*, *dolle* "spittle, saliva" | Te. *collu* "saliva", *jollu* "id.", *coṅga* (<**colga*) "id." | Tod. *divon* "spittle", *divorshbini* "to spit" (<**jivol-*) | Kui. *deoli* "spittle" | Malt. *tulg̣pe* "id."

~LpN. *čolggat* "spucken", *čolgga* "speichel", *čollit* "semel exspuere" | Fi. *sylkeä* "spucken", *sylki*, g. *syljen* "speichel"; Est. *süľg* "speichel" | MdM. *śeľgä*, E. *śeľge* "speichel" | Zyr. *śölal–* "spucken"; Voty. *śalal–* (frequ.) "id." | Cher. *šüβala·m*, etc., "speien, spucken" | Vog. *saľyı* "id." | Osty. *süiɣəm* "id." (*s*–laute 33, VUr. 47.)

Paasonen, loc. cit., finds some difficulty in explaining the Cher. form. His theory (for which the reader is refferred to the passage cited) is complicated and obviously not very satisfactory. In this connection we may note the parallalisms in Dravidian. Beside the shorter forms, Te. *collu*, Malt. *tulgpe*, etc., we also find longer forms, namely Tod *divorshbini* (<**jivol-*, <**civol-*) *and* Kui *deoli* (<**jeoli* <**cevol-*) which clearly bear the same relation to the shorter forms as Cher. *šüβal-*, etc., does to LpN. *čolggat*, etc. It is also clear that the relation of the two series is to be explained by the fact that the shorter forms are a contraction of the longer (**śuval-*>**śol-*).

In dealing with these words attention should also be drawn to another series of words in Dravidian meaning "to spit": Ta. *tuppu* "to spit": *tuppal* "spittle", Ka. *tūpu* "to spit", Malt. *tupe*, Kur. *tuppnā* "id.", *tuppalkhō* "saliva, spittle": Kui *sūpa* "to spit", Kuvi *hūpali* "id.", *hūpka* "spittle". In these words the sibilant which appears in Kui is original, and the *t*– which appears in the other languages is a secondary development out of it. This being the case it seems possible to connect this set of words with those quoted above. An original **śupp*– + the suffix –*al* may give **śuppal* (Ta. *tuppal*, Kur. *tuppalkhō*) or with the weak grade of the intervocalic consonant, **śupal*–. This last by still further weakening gives rise to **śuval*– (Tod. *divon* <*civol–: Cher *šüβal*; here either intervocalic –*p*– or –*v*– could be represented), which as a result of contraction (usually in connection with the addition of a *k*– suffix) becomes finally *śol*– (LpN. *colggat*, etc.).

The Samoyede words for "spit", "spittle" have the appearance of being connected here: SamJu. *samce* "speichel", *samcegu* "speien", *sabce'*, *sabťe'* "speichel", T. *śabśi*, Je. *soťi*, *suťi*, O. *sǖs*, *sȫs*, K. *suzu* "id."

18. Ma. *ñōḷa* "spittle, saliva", *nōḷa* "id." | Tu. *ñōli* "anything sticky, gummy, glutinous, viscous; saliva; phlegm", *nōṇe* "saliva, spittle" | Ka. *lōḷe* "saliva, slaver; tenacious mucus, phlegm | Malt. *lāli* "spittle" | Kur. *lāle* "id." || >Skt. *lālā* "saliva, spittle, slobber".

~ Hg. *nyál* "saliva", *nyálka* "saliva, mucus" | Fi. *nila* "lubricum quid, pituita", *nilja* "id.": Est, *nōľg*, g. *nole* "rotz" | MdE. *nolgo*; M. *nolga* "id." | Zyr. *ńiľeg* "schleim; schleimigsc hlüpfrig" | LpN. *ńivle* "schleim". (Bud. no. 431, Donner no. 994.)

— Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 760. The Sanskrit word *lālā* is obviously borrowed from Dravidian. The Kur. and Malt. words may be either originally Dravidian words or reborrowings from Indo-Aryan, as frequently happens in these languages.

19. Ta. *nurai* "foam, froth"; (vb.) "to froth, foam", *nurai-taḷḷu* (Coll.) "to foam at the mouth" | Ma. *nura* "foam, froth" | Ka. *nore* | Tu. *nurè* | Te. *nurũgu nuruvu* "id."

~ Osty. *ńăwer*, *ńèwr* "schaum" | Vog. *ńēr* *ńär* "id." | Zyr. *nir* "id." (Paas., *Ostj. W.* s.v.)

20. Ta. *aṇal* "chin; side of the jaw; neck; dewlap", *aṇar* "side of the upper jaw", *aṇari* "id." | Ma. *aṇal* "jaw, hinder part of the mouth" | Ka. *aṇal* "the under part of the mouth; mouth".

~ LpN. *alol*: *oalol-dakte* "kinnlade" | MdE. *ulo*, M. *ula* "kinn" | Voty. *aŋles* | Cher.*oŋla.š*, etc., "unterkiefer" | Osty. *oŋəl* | Vog. *uls* "kinn" | Hg. *áll* "id" || SamJu. *ńaŋu* "kinn, kinnlade", K. *oŋai* "kinnlade", O. *aol*, *awoi* "hals" etc. (Beitr. no. 40, Verw 53, NyH.[7] 139, KonsP. 373.)

21. Ta. *kural* "throat, windpipe" | Ma, *kural* "throat" | Ka. *koral* "neck, throat", *goṅke* "throat", *kuṅke* "the nape of the neck" | Tu. *kurelu̥* "the nape of the neck", *kekki*, *kekkilu̥* "neck, throat" | Te. *koṅkulu* "the bones on either side of the nape or hollow at the back of the neck" | Go. *guṛṉgā* "throat, oesophagus".

~ Fi. *kurkku* "kehle, gurgel, rachen, hals, schlund", *kero*, *kerus* "kehle, gurgel"; Est. *kõri* "gurgel, kehle, luft- oder speiseröhre" | MdM. *kərga*, E. *ḱirga*, *korga* "hals" | Voty. *gurul* "kinn, der unter dem kinn an der kehle befindliche teil des halses"; Zyr. *goraṅ* ,'speiseröhre". (Wichmann, *FUF.*, xi, 204; xii, 128.)

—Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 757. Skt. *kr̥ka-* m. "throat, larynx", *kŕ̥kāṭa-* n. "the joint of the neck", *kr̥kāṭaka-* n. "neck", *kr̥kāṭika* "the joint of the neck", and are no doubt loanwords from Dravidian.

22. Ka. *kuttige* "the throat; the neck; throat and neck" | Te. *kuttika*, *kuttuka* "the throat, gullet". ~ Fi. *kita* "throat".

23. Ta. *cuval* "nape of the neck, upper part of the neck; back; mane".

~Fi. *sepale*, *sepalus* "halskragen", *sevätä* umhalsen, umarmen" | LpN. *cæbet* "collum" | MdM.*śivä* "kragen"; E. *śive* "id." | Zyr. *śyli* "hals, nacken widerrist (der pferde)" | Cher. *šü*, *šüi̯* "hals" | Vog. *sip*, *šip* "hals" *sipīli* "umarmen", *sipluv*, *suplu* "hals" | Osty. *säpəl* "hals" *sevēl* "id." (Setälä, *FUF.*, ii, 262; Paas., s–laute 37; Spr.²33, Toivonen *MSFOu.*, 67, 378.)

24. Ta. *cekil* "upper part of the shoulders" | Ka. *tegal* "shoulder" | Kui *sukoli*, *sukoṛi* "shoulder-blade" | Brah. *ugh* "the nape of the neck".

~Fi *säkä* "shoulder-blade" | Osty. (Paas) *táŋχ* "schulterblatt"; *taŋχət* widerrist (des pferdes und gewisser anderer tiere)".

25. Ka. *pegal* "shoulder" | Tu. *pugelụ puggelụ* "shoulder" | Kui *pakoṛi* "the shoulder blade" | Kur. *pakhṛā* (*-khōcol*) "shoulder-blade",

~Osty. *pàŋχət* "schulterblatt", J. *pàŋkəl* "id." | Vog. *poñghwel* "id." (Paas., *Osty. W.* s. v.)

26. Ka. *kavuṅkuṟ* "armpit" *koṅkuṟ koṅkuṛ* "id." | Tu. *kaṅkuḷa* "armpit" | Prj. *kāngēl*: *kāngēl–tī pātātā* "taking hold (of him) under the arms'. | Go. *kākṛing* (pl.) "armpits".

~ LpK- *kāiŋŋel* "achselhöhle" | Est. *kangla* "achsel" | Cher. *koŋla, koŋgəla* "id." | Md. *kaval*: *kundiź kafta kavaldo* "sie ergriffen sich unter den armen" || SamT. *kaliŋ* "armhöhle" | K. *kālaŋ* "id.". (Beitr. no. 43, Verw. 54, VUr. 8.)

27. Ta. *akkuḷ* "armpit", *akkuḷu* "te tickle" | Ma. *akkuḷam* "armpit; tickling", *ikkiḷi* tickling' | Ka. *akaḷa* "a term used in tickling" *akkaḷike* "tickling", *cakkalaguḷi* "tickling another" | Te. *cakkli* "armpit," *cakkiligiḷi* "tickling" | Kur. *cangrnā* "to itch, to be the seat of a titillation", *cangrta'ānā* "to tickle" | Malt. *cēql–kūnḍe* to tickle".

~ LpN. *caggaldet* "titillare", *caggarak* "titillationis impatientia", S. *cokkoldet* "titillare" | MdE. *śangordo*– juckend oder stechend schmerzen" | Cher. *čigolden* "kitzeln" | Hg. *csikland* "to tickle". (Paas., *s*-laute 63; Wichmann, *FUF.*, xi, 191.)

On the loss of of *c*– in the South Dravidian languages, cf. no. 2. The combination of meanings "tickling" and "armpit" is also found in the following words: Kui *kīti* "tickling", *kīti giva* "to tickle", *kitki lombeṛi* "armpit", Go. *kutlī* "armpit" ~Fi. *kutkuttaa* "to tickle".

28. Kui *māra* "wing, limb, arm" | ? Ta. *maruṅku* "side", etc.

~ Osty. *mərək* "flügel, arm" | Vog. *mārex* "flügel".

29. Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu *kai* "hand" | Tod. (Metz.) *kōyi* | Te. *cēyi*; pl. *cētulu* | Kui *kaju, kagu*; Kuvi *kēyu* | Klm. *kīy* | Go. *kai* | Kur. *k͟hekkhā*; Malt. *qeqe* "id."

~ LpN. *gietta* "manus" | Fi. *käsi* g. *käden* "hand" | Md. *ked'* | Zyr. *ki* "hand, arm", *kiki, keke, kek* (dem); Voty. *ki* "hand" | Cher. *kit* | Vog. *kät* | Osty. *ket* | Hg. *kėz* "id.". (NyH.[7]23; VUr. 35–6.)

Schrader proposes this equation in his first article (*ZII*.. iii, 88, following Caldwell, *Comp. Gr.*[3] 618), but later expresses doubt about it on account of Kui *kagu*, Kur. *khekkhā*, Malt. *qeqe*, where, he says, the guttural seems to stand in the way *BSOS*; VIII, 761). His doubts are unnecessary. The *-g-* in Kui *kagu* has no etymological significance, the word being merely a secondary variant of the regular form *kaju*. In the two northern languages, on the other hand, the guttural is to be regarded as a suffix, and in this case parallels can be quoted from Finno-ugrian, namely Zyr. *kiki, keke, kek* (dem.) "hgnd". In this connection the double consonant in Kuru͟kh is of interest, because it can be explained by the existence of a final dental in the word, which appears in Finno-ugrian, but has disappeared in Dravidian except in the Te. pl. *cētulu*: i.e. **ketkā > *kekkā > *khekkhā > k͟hekkhā*.

30. Ta. *kōṇ* "crookedness; angle, corner", *kōṇu* "to be bent, curved", *kōṇal* "crookedness, wryness, obliquity", *kuṇakku* "crookedness, etc.", *kuṇalai* "bending of the body (through bashfulness)" | Ma. *kōṇ* "corner, angle", *kōṇuka* "to bend" | Ka. *kōṇ, kōṇam, kōṇe* "angle corner" | Tu. *kōṇa kōṇe* | Te. *kōna* "id."‖ > Ski. *koṇa-* m. "angle, corner", *koṇi-, kuṇi-* "having a crooked arm", *prakoṇi-* "elbow".

~ Osty. *kēu̯əṇ'* "die innere biegung des armes, einer bucht" | Fi. *kyynär* "elbow" | LpN. *garnjel* "id." | MdM.

keńər, E. *keńeŕ* "vorderarm; elle" | Cher. *kińer* "elle" | Hg. *könyök* "elbow". (Karjalainen, *JSFOu.*, xxx, 24, 15.)

The Dravidian forms, Ta. *kōṇ*, etc., correspond exactly to Osty. *kēu̯əṇ'*, the long *ō* being the result of a contraction. In the other Finno-ugrian languages various suffixes have been added, usually with a resulting weakening of the first syllable. The general meaning "bend, angle, corner" is primary, and from it the specialized meaning 'elbow" has developed in Finno-ugrian.

31. Ta. *maṇikkaṭṭu* "wrist", *karaṭu* "ankle" | Ma. *maṇikkaṭṭu* "wrist" | Ka. *moṇikkaṭṭu* "id." | Tu. *maṇigaṇṭu̯* "ankle", *kāragaṇṭu̯* "id.", *gaṇṭu̯* "id.". *muṅgai-gaṇṭu̯* "wrist" | Te. *manikaṭṭu*, *maṇikaṭṭu* "wrist" | GoM. (Lind) *gut-kēyu* (i.e. **guṭ-kēyu*) "wrist" | Kur. *mulguṭā* "wrist", *goṛkhō* "ankle" || Lws. in IA.: Skt. *ghuṭa-* m. "ankle", *ghuṇṭa-* m., *ghuṭikā* f. "id."; Mar. *maṇgaṭ* "wrist, ankle".

~ SamO. *koǯi* "handwurzel, schienbein", *udet-koǯi* "handwurzel": *kueť*, *kueťe*, *kucč* "id."

Ta. *maṇikkaṭṭu* has usually been intepreted as being composed of *maṇi* "jewel" and *kaṭṭu* "to tie, fasten", i.e. "the place were a jewel (bracelet) is fastened on"; and corresponding to this we find in Sanskrit and Pali a term *maṇibandha-* with the same Meaning. Nevertheless, a consideration of all the evidence, in particular of the Tuḷu words, shows that this interpretation is wrong. In Tuḷu we have, in addition to *maṇigaṇṭu̯* "ankle", both *kāragaṇṭu̯* (Tu. *kāru̯* "leg") and simply *gaṇṭu̯* in the same sense. This makes it clear that *goṇṭu̯* by itself means "ankle" and furthermore it is clear that it is the same word as the °*kaṭṭu* in Ka. *manikaṭṭu*, etc., and the other words quoted in the list. The corresponding word in Kanarese, *gaṇṭu*, has the general meaning of "a joint or articulatian of the body" and also of "a kont or joint in sugarcane, etc."; it is also used in the sense of a "knuckle"

of the fingers. The meanings "wrist" and "ankle" are specialized from this general meaning, and so we find Tu. *maṇigaṇṭu*, "ankle" corresponding to Ka. *maṇikaṭṭu* "wrist".

Phonetically, in comparing the Dravidian and Samoyede words, it is to be observed that Dravidian *–ṭṭ–* here represents an original affricate, *–ṭṭṣ–* or *–ṭṣ–*, with loss of the sibilant element. A parallel case of this development can be seen in the following equation :-

Ta. *coṭṭu* "to fall in drops, drizzle: (sb.) a drop", Ka· *toṭṭu* "a drop", Ka. Tu. *taṭaku* "id.", Brah. *cuṭṭing* "to drip". ~ Cher. *ṭṣütšem* "tropfen(intr.)", *cucaldaš* "id.", Osty. *tšotši-məm* "giessen, streuen, schütten", *šōšym* "id.", Vog. *šōšam*, etc., "id." ‖ SamO. *činʒek* "es tropft", Ju. *teasādm* "tropen", Je. *tiddā*, *tisa* "es tropft", Mot. *tizi-zta* "tröpfeln". (Beitr. no. 214.)

Compare also Dravidian *–ṇḍ–* <*ṇḍẓ* (below, no. 36).

A further point is raised by Ta. *karaṭu* "ankle". If this word is etymologically connected with Ta. **kaṭṭu*, etc., we must assume that an *–r–* has disappeared in the latter case. That this is actually the case is shown by the initial voicing which occurs in Tu. *gaṇṭu*, GoM. *guṭ*, etc. This is very frequently an indication that an *–r–* has disappeared in a word.[1] Another word in which *–r–* appears is Ma. *kuraṭṭa* "knuckle of hand or foot", which in view of the various meanings of *gaṇṭu* must be regarded as belonging to this group of words.

So much for the second part of the word *maṇikaṭṭu*. The first part is a word meaning "to bend", various forms of which occur in both Dravidian and Uralian :-

Ka. *maṇi* " to bend, bow, (sb.) bending, a bow", *maṇagu* "to bend, to be submissive" | Ta. *muṇaṅku* "to bend".

1. "Drav. St. 1," *BSOS.*, IX [1938], p. 720. This aspect of the matter is only touched on briefly there; it is hoped to deal with the question exhaustively in a later article in this series.

~Osty. *mäṇi-*, *månі-*, etc., "Sich beugen, sich biegen," *mēṇət-*, *mēnət-*, *mīnəχt-* "id." | MdM. *mend'əms*, *E. mend'ams* "biegen" || SamJe. *muna-bo*, etc., "biegen" | T. *muni'ema* "biegen" | O. *mènam*, *mynam*, etc., "biegen" | K. *münübr'äm* "id." (Beitr. no. 30.)

It is clear from all this that the popular etymology of Dr. *maṇi-kaṭṭu* is unacceptable. It is, however, a popular etymology of long standing and undoubtedly lies behind the Skt. word *maṇibandha-*. This is nothing more than a "translation" into Sanskrit of the Dravidian word and shows that from very early times the word has been interpreted according to its popular and not its real etymology.

32. Te. *guppili* "a fist, the closed hand" | Go. *koṟop* "a double handful".

~Fi. *kopra*, *koura* "hand, hollow of the hand, fist"; Veps. *kopr* "die zusammengelegte hand" | Zyr. *gabi̮r*, *kabi̮r* "hohle hand", *gabralni*, *kabralni* "zusammendrucken (mit der faust)" | Osty. (Pass.)*kůwr* "faust, hand".

33. Ma. *pōṅṅa* "a handful" | Tu. *bukku* "id."

~Fi. *pivo* "hollow of the hand; closed hand; handful"; Est. *pihu*, *pego* "handfläche" || SamJu. *peaŋ* "flache hand" | T. *feaŋ* | Je. *feo*, etc. | O. *piŋga* "hand, flache hand".

34. Malt. *ponda* "the palm of the hand; the flat of an animal's paw".

~Osty. *pət* in *kåt-pət* "die flache hand" | Fi. *pinta* "surface" | Voty. *ped*: *ped pal* aüssere seite". (Wichm., FUF., xii, 134.)

35. Ta. Ma. *viral* "finger, toe" | Ka. *beral*, *beraḷ* | Tu. *birelụ* | Te. *vrēlu* | Kui *vanju*, pl. *vaska* | Go. *wirinj*; GoM. *vers* "id".

~Fi. *varvas*, g. *varpaan* "toe" || SamJu. *ŋarwa* "id." (Verw. 56.)—Schrader, BSOS., VIII, 758.

36. Ta. Ma. *ukir* "finger or toe nail, claw" | Ka. *ugur* "id.", *ugi* "to hurt, tear, or rend with the nails", *bagaru* "to scratch with the nails" | Tu. *uguru* "nail" | Te. *gōru* | Kui *gōra* "id." | Kur. *or°kh*; Malt. *orgu* "id." (metathesis) | ?Brah. *hōr* "finger".

~Hg. *vakar* "kratzen, schaben" | Md. *aŋgəŕams* "kratzen". (Bud. no. 991; Wichmann, *FUF.*, xi, 183.)

The words for "nail" and "scratch" were no doubt originally identical, and go back to a primitive stage of the language when noun and verb were only imperfectly distinguished. (Cf. Dr. *kaṇ* "eye" and "to see".) Semantically an exact parallel is provided by the Uralian wors for "nail": Fi. *kynsi*, g. *kynnen* "nagel, klaue" | LpN. *gaʒʒa* "unguis. ungula" | Md. *ḱen^{d}že* "nagel, klaue, huf" | Cher. *küṭš*, etc., "nagel, kralle, klaue, huf" | Zyr. *giž* "nagel, klaue"; Voty. *gižı* "id." | Vog. *künš*, etc. | Osty. *koṇṭṣ*, etc., "id." | SamJu, *hada* "fingernagel" | T. *kátu* "nagel" | O. *kad* "id,", etc. (Affr. no. 132.) These words are formed from the same root as the words meaning to "dig, plough, etc.", namely: Fi. *kyntää* "pflügen"; Est. *kündma* "id." | Cher. *kündžem* "graben, hervorgraben" | Zyr. *kenžan* "pflugschar". The Dravidian words connected with this series are as follows. Ta. *keṇṭu* "to dig, to cut", *kiṇṭu* "to scratch, poke, dig up. excavate" | Ma. *kiṇtu* "to sir up, dig" | Ka. *giṇḍu* " to pinch with the nails" | Te. *ceṇḍu* "to cut to pieces" | Malt. *kiṇḍe* "to cut flesh or fish". Here we find in Dravidian a phonetic development of– *ṇṭṣ-* / *ṇḍẓ-* to *-ṇṭ-* / *-ṇḍ-*. As a parallel instance of this development we may quote the words meaning "to be ripe, ripen": Te. *paṇḍu* "a fruit, berry; ripe, mature; to grow ripe, mature", *paṇṭa* "ripening; produce, crop", Go. *paṇḍānā* "to become ripe", Kur. *panjnā* "to ripen", *paṇḍkō* "half-ripe", Malt. *panjek* "ripe"~Osty. *pantšəm* "reifen, heranwachsen", Vog. *pānšam* "reifen". In the case of this word the original affricate is preserved for the most part in

Kurukh and Malto. The development is of course parallel to the development of *-ṭṭ-* out of an original affricate (see above, no. 31).

37. Ta. *mulai* "breast, teat" | Ma. *mula* | Ka. *mole* | Tu. *mire* | Tod. *mozn, morsh* "id." | Te. *mola* "the waist, middle".

~Est. *mäl'w* "vogelbrust" | LpN. *mielggâ* "pectus" | Md. *mälhkä* "brust" | Cher. *mel* "brust" | Voty. *mi̮l* | Vog. *maγl* "brust" | Osty. *mēɣəl* | Hg. *mell* "id." (VUr. 36.)

—Gundert ap. Caldwell, *Comp. Gr*[3], 623; Schrader, *ZII.*, iii, 97.

38. Ta. *pokkuḷ*, "navel", *pōkil* "id." | Ma. *pokkiḷ, pokkuḷ, pōḍu* | Ka. *pokkuṟ*, *porkuṟ* | Tu. *puvaḷu, puvoḷu* | Te. *pokkili* | Tod. *pokku* (Pope), *bukku* (Metz) | Kui *pūṟenji*; Kuvi *pūleri* | Brah. *pūt* "id."

~Osty. *pokl'əŋ* "nabel" | Vog. *pixviń, puxeń* | Md. *pokəń* "id.". (Toivonen, *FUF.*, xvi, 222.)

—Caldwell, *Comp. Gr.*[3], p. 621. The Dravidian words show an alternation of the intervocalic consonant between a strong form *-kk-* and a weak form *-k-*; on the one hand Ta. *pokkuḷ*, etc., and on the other hand Tu. *puvaḷu* < **pukaḷ*, etc,

39. Ta. *vayiṟu* "belly" | Ma. *vayaṟu* | Ka. *basiṟ, basuṟ* "id." | Tu. *basuri, basuru* "pregnancy", *bañji* "belly" | Kui *vahi* "intestine, entrails, bowels"; Kuvi (Schulze) *wahi* "stomach; intestines".

~Fi. *vatsa* "bauch; magen", Kar. *vačča*, g. *vačan* Ol. *vačču* "bauch, magen; herz; mutterleib", Est. *wats* "wanst, bauch" | Vog. *vaś* "magen": *vaś-xuri* "magenbeutel" (Affr. 160) ‖ Cf. SamJu. *wēt'u, jied'u* "darm", etc. ?

40. Te. *prēgu* "bowels" (< **pergu* or **peragu*) | Go. *pīr* "belly".

~Osty. *porax* "das innere", *pōrox* "inneres; kōrper, leib, magen", *pōrex* "magen, eingeweide" | Vog. *por perk* in *šam-por* "herz und magen; seele", *šam-perk* "seele" ‖ SamO. *pärg*,

pärgä, perge "das innere, die eingeweide, der magen des tieres" | Karag. *herge-de* "ventre" | Je. *fed'i-ko* "fisch-magen". (Anl. 158.)

41. Ta. Ma. *mutuku* "back, region of the spine; back portion, as of a chair" | Go. *muṛchul* "back"; GoM. *murculi* "back", *molko* "id." | Kui *musali* "at the back of", *musali giva* "to turn the back on" | Brah. *massuk* "the back between the shoulder-blades".

~ Zyr. *mišk-* "rücken", *myšk-* rücken, buckel usw."; Voty. *mi̊šk-* "rückseite, hinterseite" | Md. *mukoro* "steiss, after" | SamO. *mokka, mokkol, mogor*, etc., "rücken."

— Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 757.

42. Ka *toḷḷe* "lungs" (F. Ziegler, *E-K. Dict.*; not in Kittel in this sense) | Kui *sōḍa* "the lungs".

~ Fi. *tävy*; Est. *tävi* "lung" | MdE. *ṫeviľav*, M. *ṫevlav* | Zyr. Voty. *ty* "id."‖SamJu. *ṫīwok*, *ṫiwy*, etc. | Je.*ṫīji* | O. *tǖmäktä* "id." (Verw. 58, Stuf. 29.)

43. Ta. *uy* "to live"; *uyir* "to breathe, to have life; (sb.) breath, life, soul" | Ma. *uyir* "life, breath", *uyirkka* "to live, revive, survive", *vīrkuka* "to sigh, breathe", *vīrppu* "breath" | Ka. Te. Tu. *usuru* "breath" | Kur. *ujjnā* "to have life, become animated" | Malt. *uje* "life; to live".

~ Est. *vaim* "geist, seele" | LpN. *vuoigŋa* "spiritus, anima, flamen", *vuoigŋat* "spiritum ducere"; K. *vi̊jñi* "atmen", *vujñas* "atemzug, seufzer; geist" | MdM. *vajm̓ɛ* E. *ojm̓e* "atem atemzug, geist, seele"‖ SamJu. *jīnd, wind* "seele, hauch" | T. *baṫu, baiṫu'* "seele" | Je. *beddu* | O. *kuei* "atem, seele". (Beitr. no. 54, Verw. 59, Anl. 135.)

44. Ta. *mūkai* "liver".

~ Fi. *maksa* "liver" | LpS. *muekse* | Cher. *mokš* | Zyr.-Voty. *mus* | MdE. *makso*, M.*maksa* | Vog. *majt* | Osty. *mūγət'*

| Hg. *mái* "id." ||SamJu. *mued* | T. *mita* | Je. *mudo* | O.*myd*, etc. (Verw. 59, Beitr.no. 298, VUr.11.)

45. Ta. *pacu* "green, greenish yellow, yellow", *pai*, *pāc-*, *pacc-* "id.".*paca-*, *paya-* "to be or become green or yellow", *paccai* "green colour, green-ness"; *piccu* "bile; madness"; *pittaḷai* "brass", *pittikam* "jasmine" | Ma. *pacu*, *pai* "green", *pacca* "greenness", *piccakam* "Jasminum grandiflorum", *piccaḷa* "brass", *piccu* (bile >) "madness" | Ka. *pacce* "greenness, the colour green, a yellowish colour, a golden colour", *pacca paccu*, *pace*, *pasi*, *pasu* "id.", *pasur* "greenness, yellowness, young green grass, etc."; *pitta* "bile; madness", *paccu*, *peccu*, *puccu*, *huccu* "madness" | Tu. *pacce* "green, greenness" *paji* "id.", *pajiru̥* "grass; *pittu̥* "bile", *pitta* "bilious, choleric" | Tod. *paci* "green" | Te. *pacci*, *pacca*, *pasaru*, *pasi*, *pasupu* "greenness, yellowness"; *picci*, *piccu* "madness", *pittamu* "bile"|| >Skt. *pīta-*, *pītala-* "yellow", *pītala-* n., *pittala-* n. "brass", *pittá-*n. "bile".

~ Md. *piže* "grün; kupfer, messing"|| SamJu. *padea* "galle", *paderaha* "blau", *paceä*, *patjeä* "galle", *pačeä*, *pač* "bitter", *pacusema* "galle", *pad'e* "id.". *podjerraha* "gelb" | T. *fáte* "galle" | Je. *fóre'*, *fóde'* "id." | O.*pad* "grün" *pad*, *patt* "galle", *padərgä* "messing" | K. *påda* "galle". (Verw. 59. Anl. 140–1.)

In the Dravidian words for "green, yellow" an original vowel *-i-* has been supplanted by *-a-*. This is a common enough phenomenon in the southern Dravidian languages, but discussion of it must be reserved for another time. As regards the internal consonant there is a development of *-cc-* > *-tt-* in Skt. *pittá-* "bile" and *pittala-* "brass", as also in Ta. *pittikam* "jasmine": Ma. *piccakam*. For the same change, cf. Ta. *pittai* < **piccai*, below (no. 56). The same developments of meaning, i.e. from "green, yellow" to (*a*) "bile" and (*b*) "brass" occur in both Dravidian (>Skt.) and Uralian; obvious semantic parallels can be quoted from Ind-European:

Gk. *χόλος* "bile", etc., and on the other hand Gk. *χαλκός* "brass, bronze". The meaning "madness" (as being caused by bile) seems to be peculiar to Dravidian and not to turn up in Sanskrit or the languages derived from it. In Tamil we find *piccu* used in both senses, "gall" and "madness". In Kanarese and Telugu, on the other hand, the native word is restricted to the sense "madness", while for the original sense "bile, gall" they have reborrowed from Skt. the tatsama Ka. *pitta*, Te. *pittamu*. Likewise in Tamil *pittam* (< Skt.) becomes more usual than *piccu*.

46. Ta. *kuṟaṅku* "thigh" | Ma. *kuṟaku* "quarter of animals; ham, ihigh, loins" | Te. *kuṟuvu* "thigh" | Go. *kurkī*, *karkī* "id." | Kui *kujgu* and *kuju* (pl. *kuska*); Kuvi *kudgu* "id." | Malt. *qosg̣e* "the thigh" | Kur. *k͟hosgā* "id."

~ Zyr. *kosk*, *kusk* "kreuz am leibe".; Voty. *kus* (st. *kusk-*) "hüfte, mitte des leibes" | Md. *keskă* "die weichen, die mitte des leibes" | LpN. *găska* "mitte" | Fi. *keski* "id."

In this word South Dravidian *ṟ* and Go. *r* have developed out of original *s* (or *z*). As further examples of this rhotacism the following can be quoted:—

Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. *āṟu* "to go out, be extinguished; to grow cool; to be calmed, allayed, appeased", Go. *ārānā* "to grow cool, of pottage": Kui *āia* "to become cool, cool down", *āspa* "to make cold, cool down; to reduce a fire".

Ta. *maṟa* "to forget", *maṟai* "to disappear", Ka. *maṟe* "to forget; to be forgotten; (sb.) disappearance, secrecy", Te. *maṟacu* "to forget", *maṟu-paḍu* "to disappear", Tu. *madeyuni* "to be out of sight", Go. *marēngānā* "to forget": Malt. *masg̣e* "to vanish or disappear", *masekáre* "to vanish".

Ta. Ma. *viṟaku* "firewood"; Tod.. (Metz) *berkh* "id.": Tu. *bejakire* "dried leaves used as fuel", Kui *vejgu*, *veju*, pl. *veska* "firewood", Kuvi *vegu*, pl. *veska* "id."

Ta. *vaṟu* "dry, poor", *vaṟa* "to dry up", Ka. *baṟe* "to grow dry, dry up, grow lean", Te. *vaṟapu* "drought", Tu. *baji* "empty, vain", Go. *wareṇḍānā* "to shrivel and shrink": Kui *vasa* "to dry, wither; to be dried up, thin, emaciated".

Ta. *yāṟu, āṟu* "river", Ma. *āṟu*, Te. *ēṟu* "id.", Go. *yēr* "water'" *aṭ-yār* "boiling water": Kui *ēsu* "water".

From these examples it is possible to arrive at a general rule: an original intervocalic *-s-*(*-z-*) is preserved in Kuru<u>kh</u>. Malto and Kui (where it may further develop into *-j-*); in Tuḷu this sibilant appears as *-j-* or *-d-*; in Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, and Telugu it becomes *-ṟ-*, and in Gondi *-r-*.

47. Ta. *cappai* "hip, haunch", *ceppu* "hip", *appu* "thigh" | Ka. *cappe* "the hip bone" | Te. *jabbu* "the shoulder; the outer side of the thigh".

~Hg. *csipő*, *csipe* "os coxae, das hüftbein" | Fi. *hävàs*, *häpäs*, g. *häpään*, *häppään* "pars dorsi tuberosa ad scapulas (equi, bovis, etc.)". (Bud. no. 392, *s*-laute 37.)

—Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 758.

48. Tu. *palle* in *morambuda-palle* "knee-cap" | Brah. *pun* "knee", *pōchi* "knee-cap".

~Fi. *polvi* "knee" | LpL. *puəlva* "id." | MdM. *pəl-*: *pəlmań*^{d}*žε* "knee" | Cher. *pul*: *pul-wuj* "id." || SamJu. *pūly*, *pūle* "knee" | Je. *fuase, fose* | O. *pūle, pūlsai, pūlzei*, etc., "id." (Verw. 55, Anl. 174, VUr. 18.)

This word for "knee" is not very widely represented in Dravidian because its place has often been taken by periphrases like Ta- *muṟ̤ań-kāl* "knee" ("bent leg"; likewise *muṟ̤ań-kai* "(bent arm), elbow"). For the rest it seems likely that GoM. *meṇḍā*, Kui *meṇḍa* "knee" can be compared to the *mań*^{d}*žε* which appears in MdM. *pəlmań*^{d}*žε* "knee". (On Dravidian *ṇḍ* < *ṇḍẓ* see above, no. 36.)

49. Tu. *poṭṭe* "the calf of the leg" | Te. *pikka* " the calf of the leg" | Kui *pota* "id." | Go. *photari* "id"; GoM. *pīhā* "shin" (<**pīsā*) | Malt. *poṭi* in *bagḍ-poṭi* "calf of the leg" || >Skt. *piccha* "the calf of the leg", *picaṇḍaka-* "the calf of the leg".

~Fi. *pohkea*; *pohje*, g. *pohkeen* "wade"; *potka* "genu boum; crus animalium, femur cum crure"; Lüd. *poťš*k "von huf oder von der klaue bis zum knie reichender teil des beines bei pferden, kühen, schafen, schweinen", Est. *pōtk*, *petk*, *pokk* "schinken, lende, bein von tieren" | LpN. *boaske* "pars cruris inferior"; L. *pōske-* "ferse"; K. *pictass* "wade" | MdE *pukšo*; M. *pukšă* "das dicke fleisch; schenkel, hinterbacke" || SamO. *paktur* "wade". (Beitr. no. 330, Verw. 55. Anl. 143, *FUF.*, xii, 96.) Cf. further Osty. (Paas.) *peć* "sthenkel". Vog. *peś* "hüfte, lende", *piš* "hüfte, schenkel, wade".

50. Ta. Ma. *kuḷambu* "hoof of an animal" | Ka. *koḷagu* "id."

~SamO. *kuelas*, *kwälas* "huf".

51. Ta. Ma. *tōl* "skin, hide, leather" | Ka. *togal*, *toval*, *tōl* "id." | Tu. *tugalu̥* "skin, bark, rind" | Tod. *tuvarsh* "skin" | Te. *tokka* "skin in general; bark; rind, peel", *tōlu* "skin, hide, leather" | Go. Klm. *tōl* "skin".

~Fi. *talja* "pellis pilosa" | LpN. *duollje* "pellis" | Vog. *touľ*, *touiľ*; *tạwĕl*, "haut, leder" || SamT. *tuaja* "stirnhaut unter dem haare", etc. (Verw. 56, Sauv. 68.)

—Caldwell [3], 620; Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 759.

The most primitive form in this list is Te. *tokka* "skin". All the other words are derivatives made with the suffix *-al*, and the addition of this suffix results in the weakening of the intervocalic consonant: *tokk*(*a*)+*al*>**tokal* >*togal*>*toval*' *tōl*. The three latter stages are all represented in Kanarese, while in Finno-ugrian a disyllabic form is still preserved in

Vog. *tạwėl*, etc. The word without the suffix which appears in Telugu as *tokka*, also found its way very early into Sanskrit as a loanword, where it appears as *tvak* "skin, bark, etc." (RV+).[1]

52. Ta. *porukku* "flake, skin; bark, rind" | Ka. *pere* "the slough of a snake", *pore* "fold, layer, stratum", *pare* "scale, film, membrane, slough" | Tu. *pare* "a cataract or web on the eye", *perevuni* "to be peeled", *piresuni* "to peel" | Te. *pora* "skin, membrane, film, etc.", *beraḍu* "bark, rind, shell, hard outer crust".

~Hg. *bőr* "peau, cuir, pellicule, pelure" | Vog. *poar* in *šašpoar* "birkenrinde" | Osty. *pər* "rötliches haütchen innerhalb der aüsseren birkenrinde" || SamJu. *pir* "rinde", *ho-pir* "birkenrinde" | Koib. *pere* "rinde". (Toivonen, *FUF.*, xv, 76; Sauv. 12.)

53. Tạ. *ōti* "woman's hair".

~LpL. *vūəpta* "kopfhaar" | Fi. *hapsi* | Cher. *üp* "haar" | Vog. *āt*, *ăt* | Osty. *ūpət*, *ōbet*, etc., "haupthaar" || SamJu. *uöpte*, etc., "haar" | T. *nābta* | O. *ópte* | Koib. *abde* "id", etc. (Verw. 57, VUr. 12.)

54. GoM. (Lind.) *kelk* "hair" (always used in the plural) | Kui *kelu* (*keḍu*), pl. *kelka* "feather".

~LpN. *guolgga* "hair"; LpL. *kuŏl'ka* "hair of an animal".

55. Ta. *tūval* "feather, down, etc.", *tūvi* "id." | Ma. *tūval* "a feather, a painter's brush,", *toppal* "feathers". *toppa*

1. Note that *va* and *o* frequently alternate dialectally in Dravidian. Skt. *tvak* (n. s., st. *tvac*-) has no satisfactory Indo-European etymology. The current etymology, Skt. *tvak* : GK. *σàkos* "shield", is in any case uncertain on account of the meaning, and the total absence of the word in any other IE. languages is sufficient to confirm the doubts raised by the etymology itself.

"wool, animal's hair" | Ka. *tuppuṟ* "a feather; the soft plumage or down of birds; the fine soft hair of rabbits, etc.", *tippuṟ*, *tupaṭa*, etc., "id." | Tu. *tuyi* "a feather, quill, the plume of birds" | Tod. *tūf* "pen, feather" || > Skt. *tūla-* n. "cotton", *haṃsa-tūla-* n. "the soft feathers or down of a goose", *tūli-*f. " a painter's brush".

~Fi. *sulka* "feather" | LpN. *dolgge* "id." | Md. *tolga* | Cher. *tol* "id." | Zyr. *tyl, tyv* "feder, flügel" | Vog. *taul, tawel* | Osty. *toɣəl*, etc., "id" | Hg. *toll* "feder" || SamJu. *tyly* | O. *tū*, etc,, "id." (Verw. 57.)

—Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 756.

The guttural which appears intervocalically in Osty. *toɣəl* is presumably due to confusion of this word with the similar word meaning "skin" (see above, no. 51). On the other hand, the *-g-* in Md. *tolga*, etc., is a suffix and has nothing to do with this. An intervocalic *-v-* < *pp* emerges quite clearly from the Dravidian forms.

56. Ta. *pittai* "a tuft or bundle of hair" (< **piccai* | Tu. *pucce* "braided or plaited hair" | Malt. *pice* "the feathers of a peacock's tail", *picale* "a peacock in full plume" || > Skt. *piccha-* n. "tail; peacock's tail; hairbundle", *púccha-* n. "tail". — Derivatives of this are Kui *pisēri* "tail feathers of a peacock", *plieri* "id.", Ta. Ma. Tu, *pīli* "id." (< **piseli*), Tu. *bīla* "a tail".

~Cher. *poč* "schwanz schweif " | Zyr. *bež*; Voty. *biž* "id." | Vog. *ponš-* "schwanz" | Osty. *požị* "id." || SamJu. *panco* "schwanz. (Verw. 56, Anl. 156, Affr. 110.)

57. Ta. Ma. *īr* "nit, louse's egg" | Ka. *sīr*, *īr* "id.", *īr* vb. "to comb out nits", *iraṇige* "a comb for removing nits" | Tu. *tīrụ* "nit", *tiruvaṇa* "nitpick" | Te. *īru* "nit, egg of a louse", *īrucu* "to comb out nits" | Go. *sīr* "nit" | Kuvi *hīru* | Kur. *cīr* "id."

~Fi. *saivar* "nits", *saivare* "id."; Est. *saeras*, pl. *saerad* "id." | LpN. *civros* "nisse, eier der laüse" | MdE. *śarko*, M. *śarkă* "nisse" | Zyr. *śeral*, *śerol*, etc.; Voty. *śerer*, *śerel* "id." | Cher. *šargeńə*, etc., "id." (Paasonen, *s*-laute, 40; Wichmann, *FUF.*, xi, 206.)

On loss of *c/s* in South Dravidian, see above (no. 2). Primitive Dravidian *cīr* is a contraction of **cīvar*.

58. Ta. *ī<u>n</u>ai* "vein of a leaf, ilai narampu" | Te. *īne* "the midriff of a leaf or any one of the ribs issuing from it; sira, ākula naramu".

~LpN. *suodna* "nervous, chorda, vena" | Fi. *suoni* "ader, sehne" | Md. *san* "id." | Cher. *šün* "sehne" | Zyr. *sön* "ader, nerv, sehne"; Voty. *sẹn*, *sịn* "sehne" | Vog. *tēn*, *tān* "ader; sehne, saite; schnur" | Osty. *tòn* "id." | Hg. *ín* "sehne" || SamJu. *tien* "sehne" | T. *tāŋ* | Je. *ti'* | O. *cen*, *ten*, etc. | K. *then* "id." (Verw. 58, Beitr. no. 32, NyH.[7] 26.)

—Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 759.

59. Ta. *īr* "rib of a palm-leaf", *īrkkil* "rib of a palm leaf, ōlai narampu", *īri* "fibres between the pulps in a jack-fruit"; *tūr* "root" | Ma. *īrkkil* "midriff of any palm-leaf" | Ka. *sere* "vein, artery" | Tu. *tūru* "vein" (*E-Tu. Dict.*) | Te. *sira* "vein; vein of a leaf" | Go. *cīrā* "the wrist pulse or tendon"; *sīṛ* "a root" | Kui *sīru* "root" ||>Skt. *sirā* or *śirā* "nerve, vein, artery, tendon" (MBh. Suśr.), *hirā* "vein, artery" (AV.), Pa. Pkt. *sirā* "id.", Mar. *śīr* "vein, artery; nerve, tendon; gut; vein or fibre of a leaf; a streak resembling it in wood or stone".

~Voty. *ser* "ader" | Cher. *šer* "id." | Osty. *tèr* 'dünner wurzel, faserwurzel, wurzelzweig" | Vog. *tōr* "dünner wurzel, faserwurzel" | Hg." *ér* "ader" | Est. *sūre* "ader im holz, faser im fleisch, etc." (Paasonen, *s*-laute, 86-7; NyH.[7] 26.)

The developments of meaning are fairly clear. In Ta. *īr* a secondary meaning only is preserved, precisely as has happened in the case of Ta. *iṉai* (no. 58). The meanings "root" and "vein, artery" co-exist in Finno-ugrian, which is natural enough. In Dravidian the two meanings are not found attached to the same word (as far as our information goes), but in view of the state of affairs in the related group of languages, we can feel fairly safe in connecting etymologically the words meaning "root" with the words meaning "vein, etc."

To regard Skt. *sirā* as a loanword from Dravidian is more natural from a semantic point of view than to derive it from the root *sar–* "to flow", while phonetically the fluctuation of the initial (*s–* and *ś–*) suggests that it is not a native word. If this is the case then Skt. *hirá* which appears in the same sense in AV., etc., and later is supplanted by *sirā* (*śirā*), may conveniently be regarded as the same word. The change *s*>*h* is a common enough feature in various areas of Dravidian, and Skt. *hirá* may very well reflect some dialect in which this change had taken place. In that case it would not be connected with Lat. *haru-spex*, etc. (Walde-P., i, 604.)

Ka. *sere* and Te. *sira* are in all probability reborrowings from Skt. It frequently happens that a Dravidian word adopted in Skt. spreads in that form through the Dravidian languages themselves at the expense of the native words. (A good example is Skt. *pittam* "bile'; see above no. 45.)

60. Ta. *kūr* "fibre, leaf-rib; tenon" | Ka. *kūru* "a tenon", *kūlu* "id."

~Hg. *húr* "darm, saite", *hurka* "darm, wurst" || SamJu. *hurkku*, *kurkku* "schnur; strick; schnur von sehnen des renntieres" | Taigi *körü* "strick". (Toivonen, *FUF.*, xviii, 190.)

The Tamil Lexicon does not give *kūr* in the sense "tenon"; nevertheless it uses the word in this sense in defining *kaṟuntu* as "tenon, porututtuk–kūr".

61. Ta. *narampu* "nerve, tendon, sinew" | Ma. *ñarampu, narampu* "id" | Ka. *nara* "nerve, sinew, tendon, muscle" | Tu. *nara, narampu* "vein, sinew, nerve, tendon" | Tod. *narbu* "muscle" | Te. *naramu* "vein, artery, nerve, tendon" | Kui *ḍrāmbu* (< **nrāmbu* < **narambu*) "nerve, tenon" | Kur. *narī* "pulse, nerve" | Malt. *nāru* "the veins".

~LpS. *njorga* "cartilago" | Cher. *nö̆rɣö̆* "knorpel" | Vog. *ńārị̊* | Osty. *ńōrə̑* "id" ‖ SamJu. *ńer* "knorpel". (Beitr. no. 115, Verw. 57.)

—Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 759.

62. Ta. *elumpu* "bone" | Ma. *ellu, elumpu* "id." | Ka. *elu, eluvu, elubu; iluvu* "id." | Tu. *elu* | Tod. *elf* | Te. *emmu, emmuka* (< **elm*–) "id."

~Fi. *luu* "bone" | Cher. *lu* | Md. *lovaža* | Zyr. Voty. *ly* | Vog. *lu* (st. *luw*–) | Osty. *lou̯* "id." ‖ SamJu. *ly, le'* "knochen" | O. *ly, lè*, etc. | K. *le* "id." (Beitr. no. 59; Verw. 58; Wichmann, *FUF.*, xv, 28.)

—Caldwell[3], 615; Schrader, *BSOS.*, VIII, 758.

Initial *l*– is not permitted in Tamil; and the same rule originally applied to all the South Dravidian languages, though it has reappeared in most of the languages other than Tamil as a result of secondary developments (Ka. *lōḷe* "spittle" < *ñōḷe*; Te. *lēdu* "is not" < *iladu*, etc.). That being the case, a prothetic vowel is to be expected in a word like the present one, where Uralian shows an initial *l*–. The noteworthy thing about this word is that the prothetic vowel is *e*–. Normally the prothetic vowel should correspond to the following vowel (Ta. *uruvam*: Skt. *rūpa*–, *ulaku*: Skt. *loka*–, *aracaṉ*: Skt. *rājā*, etc.), and so originally it must have done here. The Finno-ugrian forms represent an original diphthong: **lou̯*. Correspondingly Dravidian must have also had a diphthong, but since the prothetic vowel is *e*– it must have been **leu̯* rather

than **lou̯*. (For a similar vowel correspondence in the case of the word for "ear", see above, no, 6) Sam. *le'* would seem to agree with Dravidian rather than with Finno-ugrian on this point, and to support an original form **leu̯*. This **leu̯* would develop first to **eleu̯* by addition of the prothetic vowel and finally to *elu* through shortening of the second syllable.

63. Ta. *mūḷai* "brain, marrow" | Ma. *mūḷa* "id." | Ka. *miduḷ* "id." | Te. *medaḍu* "brain", *mūlaga* "the marrow in a bone" | Go. *maddur* "brain or marrow" | Kui *nīli* "bone marrow", *kāḍa-mūla* "the brain" | Malt. *medo* "the brain" | Kur. *meddo* "brain", *neddo* "id.", *murmā* "marrow" | Brah. *milī* "marrow".

~ (*a*) Hg. *velő* "marrow, brain" | Osty. *u̯eləm, u̯ētəm* "marrow" | Vog. *βεləm* "id." | Zyr. *vem, vim* "gehirn, mark"; Voty. *vijim, vim* "id." | Cher. *vem* "marrow" | Md. *ud'ime* | Fi. *ytin* (*g. ytimen*); Est. *üdi* "id." || SamMot. *mui* "mark". (Verw. 58, NyH. [7] 37, KonsP. 268.)

(*b*) LpN. *vuoiŋamaš* "gehirn" | Fi. *aivo* "id." | Md. *uj* "gehirn, mark" || SamJu. *ńemaei* "gehirn" | T. *d'ia* | Je. *ae, ebe* | O. *köü, kūŋ, kūm* "id." (Verw. 58, Beitr. no. 354, Sauv. 131)

The phonetic changes involved in this case are somewhat complicated, and need a few words of explanation. In the first place it is to be observed that the Uralian forms are characterized by loss of final *-l* (or *-l'*). Attention has already been called to this phenomenon and a number of examples have been given. (See above, no. 15.) This being the case we must regard Hg. *velő*, etc., as representing original **veδul*; likewise SamMot. *mui* stands for original **mūl*, and Md. *uj*, etc., for original **vūl* (loss of initial *v-*: Anl. 138, NyH. [7] 30). This latter form also lies behind SamO. *köü, kūŋ, kūm*, since an initial *k-* develops before *v* in this language (Anl. 44–51). The

final *-m* which appears in many languages (Vog. *βεləm*, etc.) may represent an original *-l*, since that also seems to be the case in the word for grass: Dr. *pul* ~ Hg. *fű*, Osty. *púm*, Vog. *pum*.

Turning to the intervocalic consonant, the various forms of this word are characterized by an alternation *δ* ~ O (NyH. [7] 37). The strong form is represented in Dravidian by Ka. *miduḷ*, etc., and the weak form by Ta. *mūḷai*, etc. Correspondingly the strong forms in Uralian are Osty. *u̯ĕtəm*, etc., the weak forms Md. *uj*, SamMot. *mui*, etc.

Initially Dravidian *m-* corresponds to Uralian *v-*. In one dialect of Samoyede an initial *m-* is found; otherwise *v-* is universal in Uralian. In Dravidian no forms with initial *v-* occur. This correspondence is presumably to be explained by some kind of alternance between *m-* and *v-*, of which quite a number of examples can be quoted from Dravidian :—

Ma. *mina* "work, action ": *vina* "id.", Ta. *viṉai* "action, deed, work, effort", Tu. *benpini* "to labour, work, to plough" [Te. *minnaka uṇḍu* "to keep quiet."]

Ta. Ma. *mir̤i* " to open the eyes, stare: (sb.) eyeball pupil of the eye": Ta. *vir̤i* "id."

Ta. *mīḷ* "to return, come back; (tr.) to bring back, redeem", Ma *mīḷuka* "id.": Ma. *vīḷuka* "to return; (tr.) to get back, redeem; to avenge".

Ta. *mīṟu* "to go beyond, exceed, transgress, be in excess; to be great, haughty". Ma. *mīṟuka* "to exceed, transgress", Te. Ka. *mīṟu* "to go beyond, exceed, transgress; to be excessive, proud, etc.", Kui *mīja* "to exceed, excel, surpass": Ta. *vīṟu* "to be distinguished, pre-eminent; to increase; (sb.) excellence, distinction, abundance", Ma. *vīṟuka* "to be grand, dignified; to be puffed up, proud".

Ta. *mitavai* "boiled rice, porridge, gruel, a preparation of dhal": Ta. *vitavai* "boiled rice, gruel, thick fluid".

Ma. *meruku* "a civet cat": Ma. *veruku, viruku* "id.", Ta. *veruku* "tomcat, cat, wild cat", Ka. *berku, bekku* "cat", Tu. *beru* "a marten", Go. *warkār* "cat (Williamson), mongoose (Trench)", Nahali *berkū* "cat" (*LSI.*, iv), Malt. *berge*, Kur. *berkhā* "id."

Ta. *meruḷ* "to be frightened", *miraḷ* "id." *miraṭṭu* "to frighten", Ma. *meruḷ* "fright", *meruḷuka* "to be scared", *miraḷuka* "to start, be shaken by fear": Ta. *veru* "fear, dread", *veruvu* "to be frightened", *veruḷ* "to be frightened; (sb.) fear", *veruṭṭu* "to frighten", Ma. *veruḷuka* "to be frightened", Go. *warītānā* "to fear".

Ta. *mēy* "to thatch, cover a roof", Ma. *mēyka* "to thatch a house": Ta. *vēy* "to thatch, cover with a roof", Tu. *bēpuni* "to thatch the roof of a house, etc.", Go. *wēsānā* "to thatch", Kui *vega* "to thatch", *vīa, vīori* "a thatch, grass used for thatching".

Ta. Ma. *miṭaṟu* "neck, throat", Ma. *miṭila* "throat", Ka. *meṭre* "id.", Ta. *meḍa* "neck, shoulder": Go. *warēṟ* "neck". GoM. *veṟer* "id.", *veṟāgā* "throat".

Ta. *meṭṭu* "mound, heap of earth", Ka. *miṭṭe* "rising ground, a hill", Te. *meṭṭa* "raised or high ground, hill, hillock", Go. *maṭṭā* "a mountain": Ka. *beṭṭa, beṭṭu* "hill, mountain".

Ka. *mase* "to whet, sharpen", Go. *masītānā* "to sharpen": Ta. *vai* "sharp", Ka. *basi* "id.", Kui *vaspa* "to sharpen".

Kuvi *manji* "rice": Go. *wanji* "id.".

On the Uralian side a similar fluctuation of initial *v-* and *m-* is noticed by K. Donner in Samoyede (Anl. 26–7, 56 ff.). In view of these facts the assumption of a correspondence

Drav. *m-* ~ Ural. *v-* in the word for marrow can be regarded as justified by the phonetic tendencies observed in the languages concerned. The causes and conditions of this phenomenon are, of course, not at all clear, but it is presumably to be looked on in the same light as the slmilar alternation between intervocalic *-m-* and *-v-*. The following words may be quoted as examples of this:—

Ta. *umaṇar* "salt-merchants": Ta. Ma. *uppu* "salt", *uvar* "saltness", Go. *Sawwōr* "salt", GoM. *hovar* "id."

Ta. *namuṭu* "lower lip," Ma. *ammiṭṭam* "id.": Ka. *avuḍu* "jaw; lower lip", Te. *avuḍu, auḍu* "the under lip".

Ta. *ñemiṭu* 'to press, squeeze", *nimiṇṭu* "to pinch", Ma. *ñamunṇṭu* "to squeeze": Ma. *ñeviṇṭu* "to squeeze", Tu. *nauṇṭuni* "to pinch".

Ta. *ñemuṅku* "to yield to pressure", *ñemukku* "to press", Ma. *ñamuṅṅu* "to yield to pressure", Ka. *amuku* "to press": Ka. *avuṅku* "to press, squeeze", Tu. *avuṅkuni, avumpuni* "id.", Kuvi *nabgali* "to press down".

Ta. *camai* "to get ready, prepare", Ma. *camekka* "to prepare, cook", Ka. *same* "to prepare, make ready": Ka. *save* "id."

Ma. *kamiṟ* "to be overturned, turned upside down": Ta. *kaviṟ* "id.", Ka. *kavicu* "id."

~Fi. *kumota* "to turn upside down", Md. *komaftoms* "umwerfen": LpN. *gavotet* "auf den rücken legen".

Similar examples are common in Finno-ugrian, and a good number are enumerated by Setälä. (Stuf. 3 ff.)

Yet another complication of the initial consonant of this word appears in the Dravidian forms beginning with *n-*: Kui *nīli* "bone-marrow" and Kur. *neddo* "brain". An initial *ń-* also appears in SamJu. *ńemaei* "brain", and may also be represented by *d'-* in SamT. *d'ia* "id." In Dravidian an exact

parallel to this treble treatment of the initial is found in the words meaning "swallow" (see above, no. 4): *m-* in Ma. *miṟuṅṅu*, Te. *mriṅgu*, Ka. *miṅgu* "to swallow", *v-* in Ta. *viṟuṅku*, and *n-* in Ka. *niṅgu*, Ta. *noḷḷu*, Ka. *noṇe* "id." In this case the Uralian languages show initial *ń-* (LpN. *njiellat*, etc.). Since the distribution of the various initials does not coincide in the two groups, it is clear that we are not dealing with special developments in the individual languages, but with a fluctuation that must have already existed in the parent language.

64. Ta. *ū* "flesh, meat", *ūṉ* "flesh, muscle, meat; body" | Kui *ūju* (pl. *ūnga*) "flesh, meat, fleshy part of fruit"; Kuvi *ūyu*, pl. *ūnga* "flesh".

~LpN. *oažže* "cero, corpus; libidines", LpK. *viфnče*, *uфinč* "fleisch" | Est. *oza*; Liv. *u̯oza* "id." || SamJu. *omsa*, *ŋomsa*, etc. | T. *ŋamsu* | Je. *ud'a*, *oza* | K. *uja* | Koib. *uja* "id."

It must be assumed that a final *-c* has disappeared in Tamil, a process which is not uncommon (cf. *pai* : *pacu* "yellow", no. 45, etc.).

65. Ka. *kajji* "scab, itch", *gajji* "id." | Te. *gajji* "itch, scabies" | Kui *kasa* "the itch" | Go. *kach* (*baittānā*) "of white skin to form on the site of a boil which has just healed" | Kur. *k͟hasrā* "the itch" | Brah. *gars* "mange" || > Skt. *kacchū* f. "itch, scab", *kharju-* f. "id."

~Zyr. *kars* "ausschlag, flechte, krätze", *karś*, *kars* "grind auf der birkenrinde"; Voty. *kars* "moosflechte" | Fi *karsta* "russ; schlacke; krätze"; Vot. *karssa* "krätze". (KonsP. 359.)

The Kuru͟kh word shows metathesis of *s* and *r*. In other cases the *r* is assimilated, but its presence originally is indicated by the voicing of the initial consonant in Ka. Te. *gajji* (see above, no. 31).

In "Dravidian Studies III" (*BSOS.*, XI, 133) the words meaning "itch" are confused with the words meaning "to bite". They should be distinguished from each other. The words meaning "to bite" are as follows:—

Ta. *kaccu* "to bite, gnaw, nibble" | Ka. *karcu*, *kaccu* "to bite, to sting" | Tu. *kaccuni* "to bite" | Te *kaṟacu*" "id." | Kui *kasa* "to bite, sting" : Kuvi *kachali* "id." | Go. *kaskānā* "to bite" | Malt. *qaswe* "to nip off with the teeth, eat greedily".

These words have nothing to do with the words meaning "itch", and are to be compared to the following Finno-ugrian words:—

LpN. *gāsket* "mordere, rodere", S. *kasket* "mordere" | Cher. *katškam*, etc., "essen" | Voty. *kurtťśịnị* | "beissen"; Zyr. *kurtťśịnị* "id." (Setälä, *FUF.*, ii, 227; Wichmann, *FUF.*, ix, 118; Toivonen, *FUF.*, xix, 121.)

66. Ka. *kēma* "callosity as that of a wart" (>Te. *kēmamu* "id." | Ma. *kēman* "strength, solidity" | Te. *cēva* "essence, core, pith, substance, strengṭh".

~ Md. *ḱeḿe* "hart, fest" | Fi. *kämä* "steifer zustand", *kämeä* "dick, fest" | Hg. *keméṅy* "hart, fest" || SamO. *kōm*, *kūm* "hart" | K. *komdeľam* "härten". (Beitr. no. 7, Verw. 35.)

67. Tu. *kēre*: *kērekārụ* "a scaly-skinned leg", *kēremēyi* "a scaly skin" | Ka. *keraku* "a scab" | Ma. *ciraṅṅu*, Ta. *ciraṅku* "id."

~ Hg. *kéreg* "rinde, kruste" | Osty. *kår* "rinde (des baumes); schorf (auf d. wunde)", *kērəp* "schorf, krätze" | Vog. *kerep* "schale" | Md. *ḱeŕ* "lindenrinde" | Cher. *kər* "id." | Fi. *keri* "dieinnere birkenrinde" || SamO. *keráp*, etc., "schinden, die haut abziehen" | K. *khirľim* "id." (Verw. 44, NyH.[7] 49.)

68. (*a*) Ta. *pokku* "to be blistered", *pokkuḷam* "boil", *pokkuḷi* vb. °*ttal* "to rise in blisters" | Ma. *pokkuḷa*, *pokkiḷa* "blister, vesicle, bubble, waterbladder" | Ka. *puguḷ* "a blister, vesicle", *bokke* "a pustule, pimple, blister" | Tu. *pokke* blister, pustule; sore, ulcer", *bokki*, *bokke* "an itch, pustule, pimple" | Te. *pokku* "a blister, pustule, pock, pimple; (vb.) to blister, be blistered" | Malt. *poka* "a blister, a blain" | Kur. *pokkhnā* "to get blistered" || > Hi. *phoskā* "blister", Nep. *phoko* "blister, boil, ulcer, tumour; bubble".

(*b*) Tu. *poṭla* "a pustule, blister" | Go. *bōṭṭā* "blister" | Kui. *poḍosi* "boil, blister", *poṭkori* "a blister", *āḍipuṭi* "small-pox pustule" | Brah. *pūtuṟō* "a blister" || > Skt. *piṭaka–*, *piḍaka* "boil, blister, pimple, pustule", Pa. *piḷakā* "id."

∼ Zyr. *piśki*, *piśti* "schutzblattern, impfer; muttermal", *piśka* "blatter, pocke"; Voty. *pośki*, *pośke* "hautausschlag, eiterbeule; blatter, pocke"; cf. Voty. *pośkitini* "aufstechen (geschwür, eiterbeule)", *peśtini* "aufbrechen (intr. v. geschwür, eiterbeule)" (KonsP. 273, 328) || SamO. *pūkka* "blase".

The Finno-ugrian forms of this word show a fluctuation between *–śk–* and *–śt–*. The origin of this is not clear, but it is plainly reflected in Dravidian, where with the usual assimilations *śk* has developed into *–kk–* and *–śt–* (through *–ṣṭ–*) into *–ṭṭ–* (> *–ṭ–*, *–ḍ–*). An unassimilated form is to be found in Hi. *phoskā*, which must have been borrowed from some Dravidian language in which *–sk–* was preserved. Such a combination is common for instance in Gondi, e. g. *kaskānā* "to bite" ∼LpS. *kasket*, *kiskānā* "to pinch"∼ Zyr.–Voty. *kisk–* "reissen, zupfen", Fi. *kiskoa* "evellere".

69. Ta. *koppuḷ* "bubble; blister", *koppuḷam* "id.", *kumiẕ* "bubble", *kumiẕi* "bubble; (vb.) to rise in bubbles, pustules" | Ma. *koppuḷ* "bubble; blister", *kumaḷa*, *kumiḷa* "a bubble" | Tu. *gobbuli* "a bubble", *guḷḷe* "bubble ; blister, pustule, vesicle".

~Fi. *kupla* "wasserblase, fischplace, beule, geschwulst", *kuula, kuulo* "blase, beule, geschwulst" | Cher. *kə·βəl, k ·βəl* "wasserblase" | Hg. *hólyag* "blase", (dial.) *hupolag, hupolyag, huppolyag* "id." | Osty. *Xoməl* "blase, pustel, schwiele; schwimmblased. fische", *kəmməl* "wasserblase". (Toivonen, *FUF.*, xx, 56.)

70. Tu. *kāmparu̥* "a carcase".

~LpN. *gālbme* "cadaver" | Fi *kalma* "leichengeruch, etc.," | Md. *kalmo* "grab" || SamJu. *Xāl'mer* "leiche" | Je. *kamero, kām̃mεr*"id." | K. *kolmu* "geist(der abgeschiedenen)." (Beitr. no. 21, Verw. 95, VUr. 7.)

71. Tu. *kujaru̥* "the stench of urine" | Ka. *koccu* "id."

~LpN. *goǯǯa* "urina", *goǯǯat* "mingere" | Fi. *kusi* "harn, urin", *kusta* "harnen" | Cher. *kužam* "harnen" | Zyr. *kudź* "harn"; Voty. *kiź* "id." | Vog. *χuńś* | Osty. *χos-* | Hg. *húgy* || SamK. *khinzil'äm* "pissen" | Mot. *kundžim* "harn" | Koib. *kynse* "id."

72. Ta. *pī* "excrement", *pir̤ukkai* "dung of sheep, goats, rats, etc.", *pur̤ukkai* (colloq.) "id.", *picakku* "to soil" | Ma. *pī* "excrement", *pir̤ukku* "excrement of rats, snakes, etc.", *piṭṭa* "excrement of rats" | Ko. *pī* "excrement", *pisaru* "the filth of the body; rheum of the eye", *pir̤ke* "the dung of goats, sheep, deer, rats, etc." (*pikke, hikke*) | Tu. *pī* "excrement", *pēñci* "filth, dirt" | Te. *piyyi* (low) "excrement", *pisa* "greasiness or dirt in the hair", *pẽḍa* "the dung of cattle" | Go. *pin* "human ordure" | Kui *piu* (pl. *pinga*) "excretion, dung" | Kur. *pīk* "excrements; earwax" | Malt. *pīku* "dung" | Brah. *pī* "id."

~Fi. *paska* "scheisse, dreck; schmutz"; Est. *pask*, g. *paza* "dünner kot, unflat" | LpN. *boikka* "stercus" | Md. *pəśkiźəms* "durchfall haben; scheissen" | Cher. *puškeδam* "id." | Vog. *pośˊ* "dünner kot" | Osty. *pośˊ* "kot, dreck" | Hg. *fos* 'dünner

kot, durchlauf." (Wichmann, *FUF.*, xi, 221; Toivonen, *FUF.*, xix, 195.)

In Ta. *pī*, etc., a final *c* or *s* has been lost in the Dravidian words, a phenomenon which has already been observed (cf. Ta. *pai* "yellow", no. 45, Ta. *ū* "flesh", no. 64). A similar development is found in the word for "wash":–

Ka. *mī* "to take a bath, to bathe; (tr.) to bathe, to wash", Tu. *mīpini* "to take a bath, to wash oneself," Go. *mīhītānā* "to wash someone else's body, especially infants", Kui *mīva* to bathe oneself", *mīspa* "to bathe another", Kur. *mūjnā* "to wash the face of", Brah. *mashing* "to wash the head",

~Est. *mõskma* "waschen" | Md. *muśḱems* "id." | Cher. *muškam* Zyr.-Voty. *miśk*– "id." | Hg. *mos* "id." || SamJu. *māsau* "waschen" | Je. *masuabo* | O. *musau*, *musam* "id." (Beitr. no. 2; 310, Verw. 70, KonsP. 321.)

Toivonen, loc. cit., compares with some hesitation Voty. *pičkiśkini* "sich bei der befriedigung des bedürfnisses sehr anstrengen", with the above mentioned FU. words. It is doubtful if there is any connection (cf. KonsP. 306). On the Dravidian side this latter word may be compared with Go. *pidūkānā* "to strain at stool", and other words meaning "to press" (Kuvi *picali*, Tu. *pīsuni*, etc.).

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

Languages: Ta. = Tamil, Ma. = Malyalam, Ka. = Kanarese, Tu. = Tuḷu, Tod. = Toda, Te. = Telugu, Kui and Kuvi (unabbreviated), Go. = Gondi (GoM. = Maṛia dialects of Gondi), Prj. = Parji, Klm. = Kōlāmī, Kur. = Kuru<u>kh</u> (Oraon), Malt. = Malto, Brah. = Brahui.

Lp. = Lappish (N. = Norwegian, S. = Swedish, L. = Lule-Lappish), Fi. = Finnish, Est. = Esthonian, Liv. = Livonian, Ol. = Olonetsian, Veps. = Vepsian, Vot. = Votian, Md. = Mordwin, Cher. = Cheremiss, Zyr. = Zyrian, Voty. = Votyak, Vog. = Vogul, Osty. = Ostyak, Hg. = Hungarian; Sam. = Samoyede (Ju.

Jurak-, T. = Tawgy-, Je. = Jenisei-, O. = Ostyak-Samoyede, K. = Kamassin, Koib. = Koibal, Mot. = Motor).

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DRAVIDIAN STUDIES V

Initial y- *and* ñ- *in Dravidian*

A

An initial *y-* is found in Tamil only before long *ā* in such words as *yāṉai* elephant, *yāṭu* goat, *yāṟu* river, *yāmai*, tortoise, etc. Side by side with these forms we also have forms without the initial *y-*, *āṉai*, *āṭu*, etc., and an examination of literary usage shows that the forms with initial *y-* are the earlier and gradually give place to the forms in which the initial *y-* has been dropped. In the early anthologies the forms with initial *yā-* greatly preponderate; in Middle Tamil literature *yā-* and *ā-* forms are indifferently used; while in Modern Tamil, particularly in the spoken language, *ā-* forms alone are current.[1] The following is a list of such words together with their cognates in the other Dravidian languages :-

Ta. *yā*, *ā* to bind, tie; to dam up, stop, confine, *yākkai* binding, bond; body, *ākkai* body; strips of fibre used for thatching, *yāppu* binding, bond; metre, prosody, *āppu* bandage, tie; body; wedge, Ma. *āppu* wedge, plug, what stops a crevice, Ka. *āpu* a restraint, a stoppage, what stops, Malt. *eye* to tie, bind, 3rd p. t. *ēcha*, *ēpu* the fibres of a wild plant of which cord is made, Kur. *ēp* string, cord, rope, (with prothetic *h-*) *hē'enā* to tie, bind, 3rd p. t. *hēcas*.

Ta. *yāṭu*, *āṭu* goat, sheep, Ma. *āṭu* id. Ka. *āḍu* goat, Tu. *ēḍu*, Tod. *āḍu* id., Te. *ēṭa* ram, Go. *yēṭi* a she-goat, Kui *ōḍa* a goat, Kur. *ēṟā*, Malt *ēṟe* id., Brah. *hēṭ* she–goat, female hill-goat | >Skt. *eḍa-* m. a kind of sheep, *eḍī* f. a female sheep, ewe, *eḍaka-* m. a kind of sheep, ram, wild goat, Pa. *eḷaka-* m. a ram, wild goat, Khar. Doc. *he'ḍi* :

1. K. V. Subbayya, *The Pronouns and Pronominal Terminations of the First Person in Dravidian (Dravidic Studies II)*, p. 17 (Madras, 1923).

he'ḍi paśava (633) sheep or goats. The Kur. and Malto words are in all probability reborrowings from IA., as J. Bloch says (*BSOS.*, v, 740). So also are Ta. *ēṟakam* (Cil. x, 5) and Ka. *ēḷaga*. It is interesting to note that the prothetic *h*- which, appears in Brahui is also attested for the North-western Prakrit in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents.

Ta. *yāṇṭu*, *āṇṭu* year, Ma. *āṇṭu* id., Ka. *ēḍu* time, Tu. *-oḍu* in *iyyoḍu* this year, *mūvoḍu* last year, Te. *ẽḍu* year, Go. (Trench) *yēnḍ* this year, *hēnḍ* the year before last, (Patwardhan) *yeda* (i. e. *yēḍa*) year, Kui *ṛānḍu* last year.

Ta. *yāmai*, *āmai* tortoise, Ma. *āma* tortoise, turtle, Ka. *āme*, *āve*, *ēve*, Tu. *ēme* id.

Ta. *yāṟu*, *āṟu* river, Ma. *āṟu*, Te. *ēṟu* id., Go. *yēr* water, *aṭ-yār* boiling water, Kol. *yēr* water, Kui *ēsu*, Kuvi *ēyu* id. (*BSOAS.*, xi (1944), 346).

Ta. *yāṉai*, *āṉai* elephant, Ma. *āna*, Ka. *āne*, Tu. *āne*, Tod. *ān*, Te. *ēnũgu*, *ēnika*, Go. *yēnī* id.

Ta. *yāṉ* I, Ma. *ñān*, Ka. *ān*, Tu. *yānu̯*, Tod. *ān*, Kot *āne*, Te. *ēnu*, Kui. *ānu*, Go. *anā*, Prj. Klm. *ān*, Kur. Malt. *ēn*, Brah. *ī*.

Ta. *yām* we (exclusive), Ma. *ñāṁmaḷ*, Ka. *ām*, Tod. *ām*, *ōm*, *ēm*, Kot. *āme*, Te. *ēmu*, Kui *āmu*, Go. ammaṭ, Klm. Naiki *ām*, Prj. *am*, Kur. Malt. *ēm* id.

Ta. *yār* who?, *yāvaṉ* who, which man?, *yātu* what?, *yā*, *yāvai* which things?, *yāvar* who, which persons?, *yāṇṭu* where?; *ār* who?, *āvar* who, which persons?; *ētu* what?, *ēṉ* why?, Ma. *yā*, *yāvan*, *yātu*; *ār* who?, Ka. *yā*, *yāva*, *yār*, *yātake*, *yātaṟ*; *ā*, *āva*; *ē*, *ētake*, *ētaṟ*; *dāru*, *dāva*, Tu. *ēru̯*, *ēpa*, etc.; *dā*, *dāne*, *dāva*; *jāne*; *vā*, Kod. *yēvu*, *yēva*, *yēdu* (sing.) *āru* (pl.), Te. *ēdi*, *ēmi* what?, Kuvi *ēna* what?, Prj. *ēdā* who, Klm. *yēnd*, *yēr*, Naiki *ēn*, Kur. *nē* who?, Malt. *nē*, *nēreh*, *nēth* who?, Brah. *dēr* id.

In addition there are a number of words in Tamil beginning with *yā-* for which etymologies are not available in the related languages: *yā*, *ā*[1] a kind of tree, *yāṉar* newness, freshness, beauty, *yārī*, *ārī* door (only lex.) *yāṟa* an expletive of the second person, *yāṟol*, *āṟal*, white ants, *yāṟ* a musical instrument (*vīṇā*), *yāḷi*, *āḷi* a mythological lion-faced animal with elephantine proboscis and tusks; a lion.

The examination of these phonetic correspondences is worthy of some attention, particularly as no less than three important pronouns common to all the Dravidian languages are to be found in this list. Before, however, considering the purely phonetic side, there are certain complications to be cleared up in connection with pronouns of the 1st person (sing. and pl.); namely the existence of forms with initial *n-* besides those with initial *y*:-

Sing.—Ta. *nāṉ* I, Ma. *ñān* (only this form), Ka. *nānu*, Te. *nēnu*, Kuvi *nānu*.

Plur.—Ta. *nām* we, Ma. *nām*, *nōm*, Ka. *nāmu*. *nāvu*, Tu. *nama*, Kod. *naṅga*, Te. *nēmu*, *manamu*, Kur. Malt. *nām*, Brah. *nan*.

In explaining this duality we must begin with the 1st person plural. We have here essentially not two forms of the same pronoun but two different pronouns, one which includes (*nām*) and the other which excludes the persons addressed (*yām*, *ēm*). Though found in most Dravidian

1. Cil. xii, *Uraip–pāṭṭu-maṭai* 1. *āvum āramum*. The commentators interpret this as *āccā* (*sāl* tree, Shorea robusta) which the Tamil Lexicon incorrectly renders "ebony" (Ta. *ār*, *ātti*, Bauhinia racemosa and tormentosa) There is, however, a variant reading *yāvum*, and in view of the frequent fluctuation of *ā-* and *yā-* forms it would be natural to regard *ā* here as a variant of *yā*. The *yā* tree is frequently mentioned in the early poetry as a tree found in desert tracks, but its exact nature does not seem to be known. The word is presumably long obsolete.

languages, this distinction is not universal; it is not found for instance in Kanarese, Gondi, or Brahui. Consequently many people have doubted whether it is original. This is the view expressed for instance by Sten Konow in the *Linguistic Survey of India*[1]: "It seems necessary to infer that the original Dravidian language had not developed a double plural of this pronoun. The probability of this supposition is strengthened by the fact that Kanarese, Gōṇḍī, and Brāhūī only possess one form for 'we'. The use of the double plural can accordingly be due to a tendency which has been adopted from a different family, and if that be the case we can only think of the Muṇḍā languages where there is a similar set of dual and plural forms of the personal pronoun of the first person." In this view he is followed by K. V. Subbayya[2] and others.

Nevertheless the main weight of evidence is against this hypothesis. Konow's main argument that "the exclusive form in Kurukh, Kui, and Telugu is essentially identical with the inclusive form in Tamil and Malayalam" is incorrect, as is evident even from the table he gives himself.[3] A further examination of the material shows it to be the exact opposite of the truth. The situation in Tamil appears to be as follows: In the early literature *yām* and *nām* are used side by side and apparently the distinction between the two has been blurred.[4] Nevertheless in his commentary on *Tolkāppiyam, Coll.*° 162, Naccinārkkiniyar definitely states that *yām* is the exclusive, *nām* the inclusive plural. In modern Tamil the distinction is observed and *nām* is used

1. IV, 293–4.
2. Op. cit., pp, 3–4.
3. LSI., iv, 293.
4. E.g. *yām* used inclusively: *Cilapp.*° vi, 27. *amarar-talai-vaṉai vaṇaṅkutum yām eṉa* "we will worship the lord of the gods" (a *vidyādhara* is speaking to his wife).

for the inclusive plural; for the exclusive plural a new formation, *nāṅkaḷ*, is used. The state of affairs in Malayalam corresponds essentially to that in modern Tamil: inclusive *nām*, *nōm*, exclusive *ñāṅṅaḷ*. In the other Dravidian languages, where a distinction between inclusive and exclusive plural is observed, those forms that correspond phonetically to Tamil *yām*—Tu. *enkuḷu*, Te. *ēmu*, Kui *āmu*, Kur. Malt. *ēm*—have invariably an exclusive meaning, and on the other hand the forms corresponding to Ta. *nām*—Tu. *nama*, Te. *manamu*,[1] Kur. Malt. *nām*—have without exception an inclusive meaning. This full correspondence of form and meaning cannot be mere coincidence, and can definitely be held to indicate the existence of the distinction in primitive Dravidian. This does not of course exclude Konow's theory that the existence of the two forms is due to Kolarian influence, since it is possible that such an influence was exercised very early on Dravidian, before the splitting up into various languages.

Whereas in the plural of the first person two forms with different meaning are to be postulated for the parent language, in the first person singular only one form—that represented in Tamil by *yāṉ*—is to be regarded as original. This is clear because the forms beginning with *n-* only appear in comparatively modern times. Thus in Tamil only *yāṉ* is known to the early texts and *nāṉ* makes its appearance much later. Likewise in Kanarese and Telugu *nānu* and *nēnu* are respectively later than *ānu* and *ēnu*. In Kuvi the form *nānu* is an innovation as opposed to *ānu* in the sister-dialect Kui.

1. In Telugu, Kui, and Gondi the oblique cases of these pronouns begin with *ṁ-* as a result of aphaeresis of the initial vowel: thus corresponding to the Ta. dative *emakku* "to us" we have Te. *mākun* (<**emakun*), Kui *māngi*, and Go. *mākun*. From these forms *m-* is extended to the nominative: thus modern Telugu *mēmu* for older *ēmu*, Kuvi *māmbu* besides Kui *āmu*, Go. *mammaṭ* besides *ammaṭ*. Telugu goes further and prefixes it to the inclusive *nām*/*nam* as well, thus producing the disyllabic form *manamu*.

The correct explanation of these modern forms would seem to be that given by M. Collins in his *Remarks* to K. V. Subbaya's treatise,[1] namely that *n-* of the inclusive plural *nām* has been tacked on to the singular. Just as *yāṉ* of the singular corresponds to *yām* (excl.) of the plural, so a form *nān* is created by analogy corresponding to the plural *nām* (incl.).

It is thus clear that the pronominal forms beginning with *n-* can be ignored in discussing the phonetic developments of the words which in Tamil begin with *yā-*. The only serious discussion of these words which has appeared is that of Subbayya.[2] He points out with examples that a primitive Dravidian *ā* appears as such in all the languages and likewise a primitive Dravidian *ē* is also found to be preserved throughout. Consequently he argues when we find in the case of these words an *ē* in some languages (e. g. Te. *ēnu*, *ēnugu*, etc.) corresponding to *ā* in others (Ka. *ānu*, *āne*, etc.), the original sound must have been different from either *ā* or *ē*. So far his argument is correct, but in deciding what the original sound was he goes wrong in that he fails to give a satisfactory account of the Tamil forms beginning with *yā*. Subbayya's theory is that Primitive Dravidian had in these words a vowel half way between *ā* and *ē*, which he writes ǣ. This vowel, he says, develops in some languages to *ā* and in others to *ē*. This theory does not account adequately for early Tamil *yā*, and Subbayya's attempt to explain it on these lines does not fit in with the known facts. His argument is as follows: In the modern Dravidian languages the initial front vowels *e-*, *ē-*, *i-*, *ī-* are pronounced *ye-*, *yē-*, *yi- yī-*; thus Tamil *eli* rat is pronounced *yeli*, *erumai* buffalo as *yerumai*, and so forth; likewise the ǣ, which he assumes must have been pronounced *y*ǣ, and this, he says, was represented in

1. Op. cit., pp. 47 ff.
2. Op. cit , pp. 12–18.

early Tamil by *yā-*; later when $\bar{æ}$ came to be pronounced *ā* the intrusive *y-* element was dropped.

This ingenious theory is unacceptable for the following reasons. Firstly, in view of the general accuracy of Indian alphabets it is usually the best policy to believe that they meant what they wrote. Secondly, this initial *y-* sound in *eli, erumai*, etc., is introduced normally when the words stand by themselves, or after a pause[1]; whereas *yā<u>n</u>, yā<u>n</u>ai* etc., turn up in all positions. Thirdly, and most important, these words are often found in the early texts to have disyllabic pronounciation:

iva<u>n</u> iyār[2] who is this? *PN*. 13.1.

pēr iyā<u>ṟ</u> a big lute. *Perumpāṇ*° 462.

irai tēr veṇ kuruk allat iyāvatum nothing but the white crane seeking its prey. *KuT.* 113.

veṇ kōṭṭ iyā<u>n</u>ai an elephant with white tusks. *KuT.* 65.

These and other examples make it quite clear that we have in these cases an original diphthong *ı̯ā*/*iı̯ā*[2] and no mere secondary addition of *y-* to a front vowel as Subbayya assumes. This being the case it seems best, instead of trying to explain away the *y-* in early Tamil forms, to make it the basis of our explanation. We can assume for primitive Dravidian a compound phoneme *ı̯ā* (under certain conditions pronounced *iı̯ā*) which is pre-

1. L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, *Dravidic Glides*, published in *A Miscellany of Papers* (*Vyāsasaṅgrahamu*) presented to G. V. Ramamurti, Guntur. 1933, pp. 60 ff.

2. In cases like *veṇ kōṭṭ-ĭyā<u>n</u>ai* the *i* is shorter than the usual *i* and is called *ku<u>ṟṟ</u> iyal ikaram* by the Tamil grammarians. It corresponds to the *ku<u>ṟṟ</u> iyal ukaram*: thus *kōṭṭu* + *yā<u>n</u>ai* = *kōṭṭĭyā<u>n</u>ai*. Naturally it makes no difference whether we write *kōṭṭi yā<u>n</u>ai* or *kōṭṭ ĭyā<u>n</u>ai*. For the Tamil, who did not separate words, the question did not arise.

served in early Tamil, but elsewhere becomes *ā* or *ē*. This is the simplest and most obvious theory to fit the facts as they exist.

Turning again to the list of words given above, it appears that the distribution of *ā* and *ē* as representatives of primitive Dravidian *ịā* is on the whole fairly regular. In modern Tamil, Kanarese, Toda, and Malayalam *ā* is the rule, whereas in Telugu, Gondi, Kurukh, and Malto the regular treatment is *ē*. In Tamil and Malayalam there are no irregularities, unless we count a loanword from Skt., *yāmam* a watch in the night, which appears also in the variant form *ēmam*[1]. Kanarese usually has *ā*–, but *ēve* tortoise appears beside *āme*, *āve*, while Ta. *yāṇṭu* year appears as Ka. *ēḍu* time. This is presumably due to interdialectal mixture, which is also a feature in Tuḷu. In the latter language the regular treatment is *ē*–, *ēḍu* goat, *ēme* tortoise, but *ā*– appears in *āne* eḷephant. In the first person singular of the pronoun, *y*– is quite exceptionally preserved in this language: *yānu̧* I, though there is also a variant form *ēnu̧*. Toda has regularly *ā*–: *ān* elephant, *āḍu* goat, but in the first person plural of the pronoun *ēm* occurs beside *ām* and *ōm*. The treatment in Telugu is regularly *ē*– with no exceptions. In Kui– Kuvi the regular treatment would appear to be *ā*–, to judge from *ānu* I and *r̥–āṇḍu* last year. On the other hand we find *ē*– in Kui *ēsu*, Kuvi *ēyu* water. Gondi regularly has *yē*– (i.e. *ē*–: *y*– is a "glide" of the type mentioned above), but in the compound *aṭ–yār* boiling water the original *yā*– appears. *Yā*– also appears in Go. *yāyāl* mother: cf. Ta. *yāy*. For Parji and Naiki- Kolami evidence is available only for the pronouns where *ā*– appears. The northern languages are regular with

1. Another loanword *āttirai* procession (> *yātrā*) already appears without the initial *y*– in one of the earliest texts (*KuT*. 293). In more modern Ta. the *y*– is restored from Sanskrit.

ē– (which develops to *ī* in Brah. *ī* I; compare Brah. *khīsun* red: Kur. *khẽso*).

The interrogative pronoun, Ta. *yār* who?, etc., behaves peculiarly in a number of respects. In the first place the initial *y*– is preserved more widely than is the case with the other words. It is used in modern Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese where otherwise initial *y*– has disappeared. Forms showing the regular treatment *ā*– also occurs in these three languages, and it is to be assumed that the retention of *y*– in Ta. Ma. Ka. *yār*, etc., beside *ār*, etc., is due to the need for clarity[1]. Another peculiarity is the occurrence of forms with initial *d*– in Ka. and Tu.: *dāru*, *dāva*, etc., beside *yāru*, *yāva* etc. With these forms Brah. *dēr* who? has been compared[2]. It is doubtful however, whether the Brah. and Ka.-Tu. words belong together, since Brah. *d*– may here have developed out of *n*–, as it has done in a number of other words :—

Brah. *ditar* blood: Ta. *neyttōr*, Ka. *nettar*, Te. *netturu*, Tu. *netteru̯*, Kui. *nederi*, Go. *nattur*, Klm. *natur*, Prj. *nētir*.

Brah. *dīr* water: Ta. Ma. Ka. *nīr*, Te. *nīru* water, Kui *nīru* juice, sap, essence.

Brah. *dē* sun: Ta. *ñāyiṟu*, *nāyiṟu*, Ka. *nēsaṟ* id.

Brah. *dūī* tongue: Ta. Ma. *nā*, *nāvu*, Tod. *nāf*, Ka. *nālage*, Te. *nālika* id[3].

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1. Understandably in the case of Tamil, for instance, where, in addition to *ār* who?, there are at least six other homonymous words *ār*: (1) *ār* to become full, (2) *ār* to shout, (3) *ār* to combine with, join; resemble, (4) *ār* = *aru* rare, difficult (before vowels), (5) *ār* mountain ebony, (6) *ār* spoke of a wheel.

2. See Sir Denys Bray, *The Brāhūī Language*, pt. iii, s.v.

3. On the other hand *n*– is sometimes preserved: in the pronouns *nan* we, *num* you, *nī* thou, and in the words *nughushing* to swallow (compare Ta. *nuṅku*, *noṅku*, Ma. *noṅṅu*, Ka. *nuṅgu*, Tu. *ninguni*, Kur. *nunukhnā*, Malt. *nunge*), and *nusing* to crush, grind (compare Ta. Ma. *nūṟu*, *nuṟukk* to crush, grind, Ka. *nuṟi*, Tu. *nuripuni*, Go. *nōrānā*, Kuvi (Fitzg.) *nuiyali*). The reason for this duality of treatment is not at present clear.

In view of this evidence it is probably best to compare Brah. *dēr* with the forms that occur in Kurukh and Malto, the languages most closely related to Brahui: Kur. *nē* who?, Malt. *nē*, *nēreh*, *nēth* who? The initial *n*– here is presumably to be classed with the other cases of prothetic *n*– which appear commonly in Dravidian, and a close parallel to these words is to be found in Kur. *nēg* sacrificial rite, which can be derived from Skt. *yāga*– sacrifice.

To return to the Ka. and Tu. forms *dāru*, *dāva*, etc., it would seem that we have here a case of sporadic development of *y*– to *d*–. A parallel case is Ka. *davasa* corn, grain, which is derived from Skt. *yavasa*–. In this case an intermediate form with *j*– is to be assumed (Pkt. *javasa*), and likewise in the case of the interrogative pronoun an intermediate form *jāne* occurs in Tulu. That a change *y*>*j*>*d* takes place only in this word is due to the fact that *y*– in the other words disappeared very early, and only in the case of the interrogative pronoun was it preserved long enough for this change to operate.

In the words so far discussed an alternative *ē*/*ā* in the Dravidian languages is seen to be explicable in terms of the early Tamil forms beginning with *yā*–. There are, however, in addition one or two words where such an interchange takes place without there being any *yā*– forms in early Tamil:—

Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *āḷ* to rule, govern: Te. *ēlu* id.

Ka. *ārisu* to collect, gather; select, pick out, choose: Te. *ērcu* to choose, select pick out.

Ka. *ār* yoke of oxen plough: Ta. Ka. *ēr*, Te. *ēru* id.

In the case of the last word an initial *s*– or *c*- has disappeared in the southern languages, as appears from comparison of Kui *sēru* yoke of oxen and Go. *sēr* plough. In the case of the other two words it is not possible at present to

account for the variation of the vowel. All that can be said is that Subbayya,[1] for instance, is not justified in treating the correspondence Ta. *āḷ* : Te. *ēlu* on the same footing as the words which in early Tamil begin with *yā–*, since no form **yāḷ* appears.

The forms of the pronouns listed above are those of the nominative case. In the oblique cases shortened forms appear :—

First person sing. : Ta. *eṉ–* (acc. *eṉṉai*, dat. *eṉakku*), Ma. *en–* (*enne*, *enikku*), Ka. *ennan*, *enage*, Tu. *enanu̥*, *enku̥*, Koḍ. *yenna*, *yenaku*, Tod. *yen*, *yenak*, Te. *nannun nākun* (> **enakun*), Kui *nāṅgi*, Kuvi *nange*, Go. *nākun*, Klm. *anung* me, *anna* my, Prj. *anung*, *an*, Kur. *engan*, *engā*, Malt. *engen*, *enge*.

First person plur. (excl.) : Ta. *emakku* (dat.), etc., Ma. *eṅṅaḷ–*, *ñaṅṅaḷ–*, Ka. *emman*, *emage*, Tu. *eṅkuḷ–*, Tod. *yem*, *yemak*, Te. *mākun* (< **emakun*), Kui *māngi*, Kuvi *mange*, Go. *mākun*, Prj. *am* our, Klm. *ammed* our, Kur. *emāge*, *eman*, Malt. *eme*, *emen*.

Interrogative pronoun (a selection of forms) : Ta. *e–* (*eppoṟ̈utu* what time ?, etc.), *evaṉ* who ?, *evaṇ* when ?, *evai* which things ?, Ma. *e–*, *eṅṅu* where ?, *entu* what ?, Ka. *e–*, *entu* how ?, *endu* when ?, *enne* when ?, Tu. *eñca* how ?, *eñci* what sort of ?, Te. *evaḍu* who ?, *edi* what ?, *evi* which things ?

It is a regular characteristic of early Dravidian that a long radical vowel is shortened when certain (presumably accented) suffixes are added. Thus corresponding to the nominatives *tām* they themselves and *nām* we (inclusive) the dative in Ta. is *tamakku*, *namakku* (original accentuation *tamákku*, *namákku*). Corresponding to this, the original shortened forms of *yāṉ* and *yām* would be **yaṉakku* and

1. Op. cit., p. 17.

yamakku.* Initial *ya*, however, is not tolerated in any Dravidian language, not even in Tamil, which is alone in preserving initial *yā*–; consequently this *ya*– has developed in most of the languages to *e*-, in Parji and Kolami apparently to *a*–. It will be observed that this initial *e*– does not obey the rule for original *e formulated in *Dravidian Studies II*,[1] namely that *e* in the first syllable becomes *i* in Tamil and Malayalam when followed by an *a*– vowel in the next syllable. The vowel *e*– is preserved in Ta. *emakku*, etc., in contradistinction to the rule which appears in words like Ta. *viḷaṅku* to shine (<**veḷaṅku*), *piṇai* female of animals (<**peṇai*), *civa* to become red (<**ceva*), etc. This difference of treatment finds its obvious explanation in the fact that the *e*– of *emakku* differs from the *e*– in the other words in that it goes back to original **ya*–.

The same development takes place in Sanskrit words beginning with *ya*– when borrowed into Dravidian languages. Thus: Ta. *ecu*<*yajuṣ*–, *ecamāṉaṉ* <*yajamāna*–, *entiram* < *yantra*–, *Emuṉai*<*Yamunā*, *eti*<*yati*–; Ka. *eti*<*yati*–, *etana* <*yatna*, *ethecchā*<*yathecchā*, etc. A treatment *a*– is much less frequent: Ta. *Asōtai*<*Yaśodā* (*Cilapp*. xvi, 46), Ka. *amaḷ* pair, Te. *amaḍa*<*yamala*-. A restitution of the regular Sanskrit forms is of course frequent in the more modern texts.

A similar development is to be found in the Tamil word *eṟāl* musical notes of the *yāṟ*, the *yāṟ* itself, the human voice, etc. This is obviously derived from the word *yāṟ*: *yāṟ*+suffix *āl*>**yaṟāl* with the usual shortening of the radical syllable, whence Ta. *eṟāl*. As in the case of *emakku*, etc., *e*– is preserved here before the following *ā* and not changed to *i*–, as happens in cases where *e* is original. On the other hand the change has been carried through in the case of

1, *BSOS*., x (1940), pp. 289 ff.

Ta. *iṭai* the shepherd caste, *iṭaiyaṉ* a shepherd < **eṭai* < **yaṭai* = *yāṭ(u)* + suffix *-ai*.

In a number of words variation between initial *a*- and *e*- is to be observed in the Dravidian languages. The following are examples :—

Ta. *aṭṭi* strychnos nux vomica (Lex.): Ta. *eṭṭi*, Ka. *iṭṭi*, *iṭṭe*, *iṭṭaṅgi*, *iṭaṅgi* id.

Ta. *eytu* to approach, to reach, to attain, acquire, Ma. *eytuka* to get, obtain : Ka. *aydu* to go to, reach, approach; acquire, obtain.

Ta, *al* night, darkness, evening : *el* night, Ma. *al* darkness, night, Klm. (Haig) *ālē* night, Gōlari (*LSI.*, iv, 388) *ullī* night.

Ma. *aliyuka* to dissolve, melt: Tu. *eliyuni*, *ēluni* id.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *aṟi* to know : Te. *eṟũgu* id.

Ta. Ma. *ar̤aku* beauty: Ta. *er̤il* id.

Ta. *eṉ* to say, Ma. *ennu*-, Ka. *an*, also *en*, Tu. *anpini* and *inpini*, Te. *anu*, Kui *inba*, Naiki *yantēr* said (*LSI.*, iv, 574), Kur. *ānnā*, Malt. *āne*.

The question naturally arises whether these variations are due to an original **ya*- developing partly into *a*- and partly into *e*-. Since a variation *ā*/*ē* has been shown to be based on original *yā*- and since already examples have been quoted where a simple vowel (usually *e*-, occasionally *a*-) goes back to earlier **ya*-, this is not unlikely in some cases at least. In two cases a comparison with similar words in Finno-ugrian strongly suggests that this is the case. Corresponding to Ta. *el*, *al*, etc., night, the following Finno-ugrian words can be quoted (*BSOAS.*, xi (1944), p. 338) : Fi. *yö* night, LpN. *igja*, Md. *v́ej*, *v́e*, Zyr. *oj*, Voty. *uj*, Osty. *əi̯*, Vog. *ī*, *iī*, Hg. *é*^{i}. Here the final *-l* preserved in Dravidian has been lost in Finno-ugrian, but the latter languages, in particular the diphthong in Finish, are more original in the matter

of vocalism. An original diphthong would accord well with the vowel-variations in Dravidian— *al*, *el*, *ullī*, and in the case of Ta. *al/el* there may easily have been an intermediate stage **yal*. Ta. *eytu*, Ka. *aytu* also seem to have parallels in Finno-ugrian : Hg. *jutni* obtingere, geraten, hinkommen, Fi. *joutua* approach, arrive, Est. *jõudma* ankommen, hingelangen LpN. *joavddat* ankommen, Osty. *ioχtəm* kommen, VogA. *joxtam* ankommen. The Dravidian forms would be the result of a development **yoxt-* > **yaxt-* *> **yayt-* > *eytu/aydu*, the variation of the initial vowel being due to the lost *y-*. In the case of the other words it is not possible to say much about them without further information about their etymology. The reason for the variation of the initial vowel may not be the same in all cases ; indeed, it is not likely to be so, since the distribution of *a* and *e* differs in different words: on the one hand Ta. Ma. *eṉ* : Te. *anu*, and on the other hand Ta. Ma. *aṟi* : Te. *eṟūgu*. The word meaning to say is particularly irregular in this respect, since besides *a-* and *e-* an initial *i-* up in several languages, while the matter is further complicated by the Kur.- Malt. forms beginning with long *ā*.

B

An initial palatal nasal *ñ-* occurs only to a restricted extent in the Dravidian languages. It is found in early Tamil, Malayalam, and in a very few words in Tuḷu. Even in Tamil and Malayalam it cannot appear before all vowels; it is never found, for instance, before *ū̆*. In the main it is found before long *ā* and short *-a-* alternating with *-e-*. The following is a list of words which begin with *ñā-* in Tamil or Malayalam:—

Ta. *nāṅkūḻ* worm, *nākkup-pūcci* id., Ma. *ñeṅṅūl*, *ñāññūḷ* earth-worm, Tu. *nakkuru* id.

Ta. *ñāñcil*, *nāñcil* plough, Ma. *ñeññōl*, *ñāññil*, Ka. *nēgal*, *nēgil*, Tu. *nāyeṟu*, Tod. *nēkhel*, Te. *nāgali*, *nāgĕlu*, Go. *nāngēl*,

Kui *nāngeli* | >Skt. *lāngala–*, Pa. *naṅgala–* id. (*BSOAS.*, xi 1943), p. 131).

Ta. *ñāṇ*, *nāṇ* string, cord, Ma. *ñāṇ* id., Ka. *nēṇ* cord, rope, Tu. *nēṇa, nēṇu* cord, rope; bowstring, *nāḍè* a cord, rope, Te. *nānu* a sort of necklace, Go. *nōne* rope, Kui *nōṇe* id. also *nōsu.*

Ta. *nāṇal* a reed, Ma. *ñāṇal* id., Ka. *nānal* a kind of reed.

Ta. *ñāyiṟu, nāyiṟu* sun, Ma. *ñāyaṟu, ñāyiṟu*, Ka. *nēsaṟ* id., Tu. *nesụrụ* morning, Brah. *dē* sun, Malt. *nīṛu* sunshine, heat | >Pkt. *ṇesaro* id.

Ta. *nārai* a kind of crane, Ma. *ñāra, nāra*, Tu. *nōrè* id.; Tu. also *naraye* a kind of crane.

Ta. *ñāl, nāl* to hang, be suspended, Ma. *ñāluka, ñēluka*, Ka. *nēl*, Tu. *nēluni, nelpuni* id.

Ta. *ñālam* earth, land, Te. *nēla* land, earth, Kui *nēḍe* ground, Go. *nēlī* field.

Ma. *ñāṟal, nēṟal* Calyptranthes caryophyllifolia, Ka. *nēṟal, nēṟil* Eugenia jambolana or Calyptranthes caryophyllata, Tu. *nēroḷu, nērolu* Syzygium jambolanum, Koḍ. *nēru-paṇṇu* nevel fruit, Te. *nēreḍu, nērēḍu* Syzygium jambolanum.

Ta. *nāval* Eugenia jambolana, Ma. *ñāval* Syzygium jambolanum. This item and the last are obviously related words, but it is not possible at present to account for the correspondence of intervocalic *–r–* in one case with intervocalic *–v–* in the other.

Ta. *nāṟu* young plant, seedling ready for transplanting; *ñāṟṟu* id., Ma. *ñāṟu* young plant, shoot, Tu. *nēji* a nursling, young plant of rice, etc., Kui *nē'a* to sprout, shoot.

Ta. *ñāṟal, nāṟal* name of various plants, Ma. *ñāṟal* Milnea montana, Priyaṅgu, Ka. *nēṟal, neṟal* name of certain tree, Priyaṅgu.

As is clear from these examples, Malayalam is the only language which has preserved initial *ñ-* up to the present time. In modern Tamil *n-* has replaced original *ñ-*. In some cases even early Tamil has no form with the palatal nasal, and its existence is only attested by Malayalam: Ma. *ñāṅṅūḷ*, *ñāṉal*, *ñāval*, *ñāṟu*. In the case of the word for tongue, no Dravidian ianguage shows any sign of a palatal nasal, but a comparison with related Uralian words shows that it must at one time have existed there:—

Ta. Ma. *nā*, *nāvu* tongue (< **nālv-*), Ka. *nālage*, *nālige*, Tu. *nālāyi*, *nālāyi*, Te. *nālika*, *nāluka*, *nālka*, Tod. *nāf*, Brah. *dūi* id. ~ LpN. *njalbme* os, ostium, Cher. *jilme*, *ńolme*, etc., zunge, sprache, Vog. *ńelm*, etc., zunge, Osty. *ńāləm*, Hg. *nyelv* id. | SamJu. *ńāmi* id. (*BSOAS.*, xi (1944), p. 337).

The loss of palatalization in this word has for some reason taken place earlier than is the case with the other words listed above.

Turning to the treatment of the vowel following the initial *ñ-*, it is clear that on the whole it has been affected in the same way as the *ā* in the words beginning *yā-* which have been treated in the previous section. Just as original *yā-* in some languages changed to *ē-*, so initial *ñā-* changes over a large part of the Dravidian area to *nē*. The treatment, however, does not entirely correspond in the two cases, inasmuch as *nē-* for *ñā-* is more widespread than *ē-* for *yā*: particularly in Kanarese, where *yā* regularly becomes *ā* (*āne* elephant, etc.), but *ñā-* always becomes *nē-* (*nēṉ* rope, etc.). Tamil is regular with early *ñā-*, later *nā-*, though in the case of some words *ñā-* is unknown even to the earliest language. In Malayalam there is a variation in some words between *ñā-* and *nē-* which is presumably based on differences of dialect; thus *ñāl* and *ñel* to hang, etc. For the other Dravidian languages the evidence is not very extensive, but we can probably regard

nē- as regular: Ta. *ñālam*: Te. *nēla*, Kui *nēḍe*, Go. *nēlī*. In Kui this example is supported by *nēja* to sprout, compared with Ma. *ñāṟu*, etc. In the case of two other words the operation of such a law is interrupted by an alternation *ā/ō* which seems to occur in them: thus Tu. *nārė* beside Ma. *ñāra* and Go. *nōne*, Kui *nōṇe* beside Ta. Ma. *ñāṇ*, Ka. *nēṇ*. The word for plough is peculiar in preserving *-ā-* in Te. Go. and Kui and also in whatever dialect lies behind the loan-words in Indo-aryan.

Since an alternation *nā/nē* is due in these cases to the fact that the nasal was originally palatal in these cases, it is reasonable to assume that a form *ñā-* is represented in cases where we find an alternation *nā-/nē-* even if no such *ñā-* is found in Tamil or Malayalam. A case in point is a word meaning "to winnow":—

Ta. *nēmpu* to winnow, *nōmpu* to separate by winnowing as stones from rice, Ma. *nēmpuka* to winnow rice grain, *nāvuka* to cleanse rice from stones, Te. *nēmu* to winnow, sift.

Here the variation *nā-/nē-* can be assumed to point to original *ñā-*, though no such form is actually recorded. Another instance is Kur. *nākhnā* to breathe, contrasted with Malt. *nēgye* to breathe, *nēge* breath.

Developments similar to the above are also found when an initial *ñ-* occurs before short *a* or *e*. Examples are as follows :-

Ma. *ñeṅṅuka* to become soft; to yield, sink, *ñaṅṅuka* id., *ñekkuka* to press, strangle; to squeeze, crush, Tu. *ñaṅṅu*, *ñakku* crushing, bruising into a jelly or mass, Ka. *nekku* to be depressed, sink, Te. *nokku* to press, pinch, compress, squeeze.

Ta *ñekiḻ* to become loose, slip off, as bangles ; to become soft, melt, *nekiḻ* to become loose, slip off ; melt ; become weak ; (tr.) to make loose, relax, *neku* to become soft, relaxed;

melt ; slip off : cf. Malt. *nethge* to shake off (as fruit from a tree), intr. *nethgre*, Kur. *ned^{e}gnā* to fall off, as fruit and flowers.

Ta *ñaṇṭu*, *ñeṇṭu naṇṭu* crab, Ma. *ñaṇṭu*, Tu. *deñji*, Ka. *eṇḍra-kāya*, *ēḍi*, *esaḍi*, Te. *eṇḍri*, *eṇḍra-kāya*, Go. *yēṭe* id. : connected with this, Ta. *naḷḷi* a crab, *naḷir* id., Ka. *naḷḷi*, *laḷḷi* id. ; cf. Sgh. *naḷaya* the claw of a crab, *naḷayā* a crab ; Pa. *aḷa* the claw of a crab.

Ma. *ñamaññi*, *ñamiñci* a bivalve shell-fish, found in rice-fields ; *namicci* id.

Ta. *ñamali* a peacock, Ka. *navil*, *naval*, *navulu* ; *nemali* id. Te. *nemali*, *nemmili*, *nevili*, *nemmi*, *nammi* id., Tu. *neyilu̥*, Klm. *nāmlī* id.

Ta. *ñemuṅku* to yield to pressure, to be squeezed, *ñemukku* to press hard, *namuku* to yield under pressure, Ma. *ñamuṅṅu* to yield to pressure, sink, bulge, Ka. *avugu* to yield to pressure, *avuṅku* to press, squeeze (also *amugu*, *amuku*, Tu. *avuṅkuni* to press, *avumpuni* id.), Kuvi *nabgali* to press down.

Ta. *ñemiṭu* to press out with the hands, squeeze, *nimiṇṭu* to pinch, Ma. *ñamuṇṭu* to squeeze, *ñeviṇṭu* id., Tu. *nauṇṭuni* to pinch. The root in these words is of course identical with that in the last item, and can be compared with the Uralian root which appears in Hg. *nyom-* to press, etc.

Ta. *ñemir*, *ñemar* to spread, extend ; cf. Ta. *ñemal* to wander about.

Ta. *ñemai* a kind of tree ; Ta. *namai* Button-tree, Anogeissus latifolia, Ma. *nava* in *veḷḷa-nava* id. (Lush)

Ta. *narampu* nerve, tendon, sinew, Ma. *ñarampu*, *narambu* id., Ka. *nara* nerve, sinew, tendon, muscle, Tu. *nara*, *narambu* vein, artery, nerve, tendon, Tod. *narbu* muscle, Te. *naramu* vein,

artery, nerve, tendon, Kui *ḍrāmbu* (<**nrāmbu*<**naarmbu*) nerve, tendon, Kur. *narī* pulse, nerve, Malt. *nāru* the veins.

Ta. *ñaral*, *ñeral*, *naral* to sound, make a noise, Ma. *ñaraṅṅuka* to grumble, groan, Ka. *naral*, *naraḷ*, *neraḷu* to groan, moan, *naraku* id., *naraṭu* grumbling, Tu. *narakuni* to groan, moan, grumble, *naraṭuni*, *naraluni*, *nerluni* id., Te *naraga* a drum, Kur. *narya'ānā* to hum, to weep aloud, Malt. *nire* to groan || Cf. Osty. *ṅaralem* knarren, knirschen, Fi. *naristaa*, etc.

Ta. *neruñcil*, *neruñci* Tribulus terrestris, Ma. *ñeruññil*, Ka. *nerigilu*, *neggilu*, *naggilu*, Tu. *nēgiḷu* id.

Ta. *neruppu* fire, Ma. *ñerippu*, *nerippu*, Te. *nippu* id.; Go. *nirwānā* to burn, Malt. *nare* flame, *narge* to blaze.

Ta. *ñeri*, *neri* to break, be crushed, *nari* to crush, torment, *neruṅku* to be pressed, squeezed, crowded *nerukku* to press squeeze, bruise, torment, *naruṅku*, *narukku* id., *neruṭu* to rub with the fingers, Ma. *ñeriyuka* to be crushed, smashed, *ñerikka*, to squash, smash, *ñeruṅṅuka* to be pressed, thronged, *neriyuka* to be crushed, Ka. *naraku*, *naruku*, *naggu* to be bruised, *neggu* to crush, Tu. *narguni* to be bruised, crushed, *naraguḍuni* to bruise, crush, torment, Te. *nerumu* to rub, grind.

Ta. *neḷi* to bend, be twisted; to wriggle, writhe crawl: (tr.) to cause to bend, to twist; to wriggle or distort the body in walking, commonly in affectation, *neḷivu* crawling, writhing; bending, yielding, Ma. *ñeḷiyuka* to stretch oneself, strut, walk affectedly, proudly, *ñeḷikka* to bend the body backwards, Ka. *naḷi* to grow bent, curved, to bow, bend.

Ta. *naḷi* coldness, frigidity, *naḷir* to be cold; shake; tremble (sb.) cold, coldness; shivering, ague, *naḷukku* to shake, tremble, Ma. *ñaḷukka* to be affected by cold or damp *ñaḷuṅṅuka* to shake from damp, fear, *ñaḷuppu*, *ñaḷuppam* dampness. Cf. Ta. *naṭuṅku* to shake, tremble, etc.

Ta. *naṟi* way, Ma. *ñeṟi* straight path, Ka. *neṟi*, *niṟi* orderly arrangement.

An examination of the words in this list shows that, just as in the previous series where it is followed by long *ā*, the initial palatal nasal is best preserved in Malayalam. In some cases it is only found in that language, as in the case of *ñarampu* sinew, *ñerippu* fire, *ñeruññil* Tribulus terrestris, and *ñeṟi* a way.

According to the Tolkāppiyam (*Eṟutt.*°64) a short *-a-* is not permissible after initial *ñ-*; that is to say *ñeṅṭu*, *ñemar*, *ñeral*, etc., are correct forms in Classical Tamil, while *ñaṇṭu*, *ñaral*, *ñamar* are incorrect. In the main the usage of the early poets is in agreement with this rule, but exceptions are found: e.g. *ñaral* to sound (*Tirumuruk*° 120). The word *ñamali*, a poetic synonym of *nāy* dog, always appears in this form, and Naccinārkkiniyar accounts for its irregularity by saying that it is a dialect-word (*ticaic-col*: Comm. ad. loc.). The situation in the modern language is different. Here we find either *na-* or *ne-*, and the two are very rarely confused; thus on the one hand *naṇṭu*, *namuku*, *namai*, *narampu*, *naral*, *naḷi*, and on the other hand *nekiẓ*, *neruñcil*, *neruppu*, *neṟi*. On comparing the Malayalam forms of these words it appears that where modern Tamil has *na-* Malayalam has *ña-*, and where modern Tamil has *ne-*, Malayalam has *ñe-*; thus on the one hand Ma. *ñaṇṭu*, *ñamuṅṅuka*, *ñarampu*, *ñaraṅṅuka*' *ñaḷuṅṅuka*, and on the other hand Ma. *ñeruññil*, *ñerippu*, *ñeṟi*. It is clear from this comparison that there are here two sets of words, one originally beginning *ña-* and the other originally beginning *ñe-*. The original state of affairs is preserved, in Malayalam. In modern Tamil the distinction of the vowels is preserved, while the ordinary *n-* is substituted for the palatal *n*. In the dialect which formed the basis of the early Tamil literary language the palatal nasal was

preserved, but the vowel of the two series was confused as a result of a change *ña-* > *ñe-*. This particular change can only have taken place over a limited part of the Tamil area, since the modern *na-*, *ne-* reflect earlier *ña-*, *ñe-*, which must have remained the usage in bulk of the *koṭun tamiẓ* areas.

In the Tamil words *ñemai* a kind of tree, *ñemal* to wander about, *ñemar* to extend, the vowel *-e-* in the first syllable is followed by *-a-* in the next syllable. This is contrary to the general rule (*D.S. II*), and is explained by the fact that *ñe-* in these words represents original *ña-*, and consequently the *-e-* vowel in these words is of too recent origin to be affected by that general rule. It has been already pointed out that the initial *e-* when it represents original *ya-* is also not affected by the rule. It is possible, however, that such a change has taken place in the case of Ta. *niṇa* to tie up, fasten: this may be explained as representing **neṇa-* < **ñeṇa-* < **ñaṇa-*, where **ñaṇ-* is a shortened form of Ta. *ñāṇ* rope, etc. A similar case is perhaps to be found in Ta. Ma. *nilam* ground, earth, land, Ka. Tu, *nela* id. This may be explained as a variant with a short vowel in the first syllable of Ta. *ñālam*, Te. *nēla*, etc., earth, land : i.e. **ñālam* > **ñelam* > Ta. Ma. *nilam*, Ka. Tu. *nela*. On the other hand an alternative etymology of this word has been suggested, namely that it is dirived from *nil-* to stand (*D.S.* II : *BSOS.*, x (1940), p. 295).

In Kanarese there is a double treatment of these words. We may find either *na-* or *ne*, often side by side as optional forms : e.g. *naraḷ* to groan, *naggilu* Tribulus terrestris, *naggu* to become bruised, beside *neraḷ*, *neggilu*, *neggu*, etc. As a result of this double treatment it is possible to infer the existence of a palatal nasal originally in cases where Kanarese shows a fluctuation between *na-* and *ne-* even when no forms beginning with *ñ-* are found in Tamil and Malayalam. Such a case is to be found in the following words meaning "to chew the cud".

Ka. *namalu* to chew the cud, *nevaru* id., Te. *namalu*, *nemaru* id.; cf. Tu. *nauntu* chewing. *nauntuni*, *naumpuni* to chew.

Etymologically corresponding words are not found in Tamil and Malayalam, but the alternation *na-/ne-* both in Kanarese and Telugu may be held to justify the assumption of an original palatal nasal in this case. Further, the root is presumably identical with that of Ta. *ñemuṅku*, *ñemiṭu* etc.

There is also a series of words in Kanarese where a fluctuation between *na-* and *ne-* is to be observed, and to which corresponding words exist in Tamil, Malayalam, and the other related languages, where no other sign of original palatalization exists except this fluctuation in Kanarese. Examples are:–

Ka. *nakku* : *nekku* to lick; Ta. Ma. *nakku*, Tu. *nakkuni*, Te. *nāku*, Kui *nāka*, Go. *nākānā* id.

Ka. *naccu* : *neccu* to confide in, trust; to desire, love; Ta. *naccu* to desire, love, *nattu* id., Te. *naccu* to trust.

Ka. *naḍu* : *neḍu* to fix firmly, stick or fix in the ground; Ta Ma. *naṭu* to set up, fix, plant, etc., Tu. *naḍpini*, *neḍpini* to plant, Te. *naṭṭu-konu* to be settled, *neṭṭu-konu* to become firm.

Ka. *naṇṭu* : *neṇṭu* relationship, friendship, *naṇpu* : *neṇpu* love, affection, friendship, Ta. *naṇṇu* to be near, attached, *naṇpu* love, attachment, Ma. *naṇṇuka* to remember with love and affection, *naṇṇuka* id., Tu. *naṇṭu* kin, relationship, *neṇṭe* a relation, Te. *naṇṭu* friendship; a friend.

Ka. *nane* : *nene* to become wet, moist, Ta. *naṉai* id., Ma. *nana* moisture, *nanayuka* to get wet, Tu. *naṇe* wet, moist, *naneyuni*, *nanevuni* to be moist, wet.

Ka. *nare* : *nere* greyness of the hair, grey hair, Ta. *narai*, Ma. *nara*, Tu. *narè*, Te. *nara* id.

In contradistinction to these words the following perfectly clear examples of original *na-* on the one hand and *ne-* on the other hand can be quoted which remain as such in Kanarese and all the related languages. In these cases no fluctuation between *-a-* and *-e-* is found either in Kanarese or elsewhere:-

(*a*) Ka. *nañju* poison; Ta. *nañcu, nañcam* id., Ma. *nañcu, naññu,* Tu. *nañji, nañju,* Tod. *nañju* id.

Ka. *naḍe* to walk, march; Ta. Ma. *naṭa* id., Tu. *naḍapuni* to walk, proceed, Te. *naḍacu* id.

Ka. *naḍu* middle, waist, Ta. Ma. *naṭu,* Tu. *naḍu,* Te. *naḍumu* id.

Ka. *nane* a bud; Ta, *naṉai,* Te. *nana* id.

Ka. *nal* good, *nalme* goodness, affection, etc. ; Ta. *nal* good, *nalam* goodness, virtue; beauty, *naṉmai* goodness, etc., Ma. *nal, nalam,* etc., id., Tu. *nalụ, nala* good, Tod. (Emeneau) *naṣ̱-* id., Te. *naluvu* beauty, ability; beautiful.

(*b*) Ka. *nettar* blood; Ta. *neyttōr,* Tu. *netterụ,* Te. *netturu,* Kui *nederi,* Go. *nattur* (*netur* in the Maria dialect), Klm. *natur,* Prj. *nētir,* Brah. *ditar* id.

Ka. *netti* forehead; Ta. Ma. *neṟṟi,* Te. Tu. *netti* id.; Go. *nēch* the crown of the head.

Ka. *neydal, neydil* water-lily; Ta. Ma. *neytal* id.

Ka. *ney, nē, nēy* oil, fat; Ta. Ma. *ney* oil, fat, ghee, Tu. *neyi,* Te. *neyi, neyyi, nēyi,* Go. *nī,* Kui *nīju,* Kuvi *nīyu,* Kur. *nēta* grease, fat, lard.

Ka. *ney, nē, nēy* to weave; Ta. Ma. *ney,* Tu. *neyuni,* Te. *nēyu* id.

Ka. *nel, nellu* rice, paddy; Ta. Ma. *nel* id.

Ka. *nelli* Emblic myrobalan, Phyllanthus emblica; Ta. Ma. Tu. *nelli* id., Te. *nelli* id. ; also Premna esculenta and

latifolia, Go. (Trench) *nalli* the Aonla tree, Phylanthus emblica; Kui *neḍi* a tamarind, Kuvi *lelli* id.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that where Kanarese shows a fluctuation between *na*- and *ne*-, it is a sign that the initial nasal in these words was originally the palatal nasal.

The terms for "peacock" mentioned above deserve a few words of special treatment. Besides the forms with initial *ñ*- or *n*- — Ta. *ñamali*, Ka. *navil*, *navulu*, *nemali*, Te. *nemali*, *nemmili*, *nevili*, *nemmi*, *nammi*, Tu. *neyilu̥*, Klm. *nāmlī*–there appears a series with initial *m*-: Ta. Ma. *mayil*, Ta. also *maññai*, Tu. *mairu̥*, Ka. *maylu* (dial.), Tod. (Metz) *mïrsh*, Kui *meḍu*, Kuvi (Fitzg.) *mellu*, Go. *mal*. These two series are related to each as a result of a transposition of the nasals *m* and *ñ*, the latter developing to -*y*- when it appears in an intervocalic position. As L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar points out (*QJMS*., xx (1930), p. 298), a precisely similar transposition occurs in the case of Ta. Ma. *mayir* hair, Tod. *mīr* id. which appears in Kanarese as *navir*. Another instance of this type is furnished by Ta. *miñiṟu* bee; beetle, beside Ta. *ñimiṟu* bee. This latter word has cognates in Uralian (F. O. Schrader, *ZII*., iii, 95): SamJu. *ńīberu*, O. *ńimarä*, *ńimer*, *ńimere*, etc., "eine kleine mückenart." In this case a comparison of the Uralian forms suggests that Ta. *ñimiṟu* is original and Ta. *miñiṟu* is secondary. In a fourth instance all the Dravidian forms have initial *m*- while the corresponding Uralian words have initial *ń*-, n-. This is the word for "hare", which appears in the two language-groups as follows:—

Ta. Ma. *muyal*, Ka. *mola*, Tu. *muyeru̥*, *mugeru*, Go *maiōl* Kuvi *mrālu*, Kui *mṛāḍu*, Malt. *muṉye*, Brah. *murū*.

~LpN. *njoammel* hare, MdE. *numolo*, M. *numēl* Zyry. *ńimal*, Hg. *nyúl*‖ SamJu. *ńawa*, T. *ńomu*, Je. *naba*, O. *ńewa ńoma*.

In these cases the fact that the Uralian words have universally inital *ń*–, *n*–, whereas there is fluctuation in Dravidian between *m*– and *ñ*–, *n*–, suggests that *ñ*– was originally the initial consonant and that the transposition resulting in initial *m*– is a secondary Dravidian development This is also supported by another set of words where *m*– is a secondary development out of *n*– or *ñ*–. A list has already been given (*Dravidian Studies* IV: *BSOAS*., xi (1944), p.333) of words in which initial *m*– in Dravidian words is substituted for original *n*– or *ñ*-, when the following vowel was *o* or *u*. Cases mentioned were:—

Ta. *moḷḷu* to draw water: Ta. *noḷḷu*, Kui *nolpa*, Kur. *nollnā*.

Ta. *moṇṭi* lame, Te. *moṇḍi*: Ta *noṇṭi* a cripple, *noṇṭu* to be lame.

Ta. *muẓai* cavern; to enter, Ta. *nuẓai* to creep into, through, Ma. *nuẓayuka* id., and so forth. The following two examples can be added to the list already provided:—

Tu. *nurige*, *nurge* Indian horse-radish tree, Moringa pterygosperma, Ka. *nugge*, *nuggi* id.: Ta. *muruṅkai*, Ma. *muriṅṅa*, Te. *munaga* id | >Skt. *muruṅgi*, *muruṅgī* id.

Ka. *node* the grass Saccharum munja: Ka. *mode*, *madi* id. | > Skt, *muñja*– id.

~SamT. *ńota*, *ńot* grass, O *ńuž*, *ńūže*, *ńūt*, K. *no'd*, *no'n* id.

In these cases we have a development of original *n*–, *ñ*– to *m*– when a vowel *u*– or *o*– follows. The case is not quite the same with the words for "peacock", "hare", etc., since there we have an actual transposition of nasals. Nevertheless the two series are similar inasmuch as a secondary *m*– in Dravidian has replaced original *n*–, *ñ*–. The developments therefore of the Dravidian words for "hare" are clearly

*_ñumal_>*_muñal_>Ta. Ma. _muyal._ In Gondi we have _malōl_< _molal_<*_moñol_ by assimilation, while in Malto _mu_n_ye_<_muñe_ <_ñuma_ we find a form without the _l_–suffix, just as appears in Samoyede. The phonetic developments in the words for peacock are in most respects the same: Ta. _mayil_<*_mañil_<* _ñamil,_ etc. Here also we have some forms with and some forms without an _l_-suffix: beside Ta. _mayil_ also Ta. _maññai_<*_ñammai_ corresponding exactly to Te _nemmi, nammi_. The forms that appear in the central languages—Kui _meḍu_, Kuvi _mellu_, and Go. _mal_—are presumably contractions of _mayil_, and can be compared with Ka. _mola_ hare, where the first syllable _mol_– is a contraction of _muyal._

The analysis of the words for peacock given here rules out any possibility of connection between the Dravidian words and the Austro-asiatic words for "peacock". The following series of words meaning peacock are quoted by Bloch (_BSL._, vol. 25, p. 17), and Przyluski (_BSL._, vol. 26, p. 99): Sant._maraḱ_, Savara _māra_, Mon _mrā_, Cham _amrak_, Stieng _brak_, Malay _mera_. Bloch hesitates whether or not to connect the two series. The question is definitely settled in the negative if the above account of the Dravidian words is accepted.

This leaves over the question of the origin of Skt. _mayūra_- peacock. The word resembles both Ta. _mayil_, Tu._mairu̥_ on the one hand, and Santali _maraḱ_, etc., on the other. The question arises, therefore, from which of the two series has the Sanskrit word been borrowed? The answer would seem to be that the word has been borrowed from Dravidian, since the resemblance is greater between the Sanskrit and Dravidian forms than between the Sanskrit and Austro-asiatic. Also the Austro-asiatic forms show practically complete uniformity representing original _marak_, and the theories which Przyluski produces in order to turn this into _mayūra_– (_BSL._, vol. 26, p. 100) are too complicated to carry conviction. On the other

hand the theory of Dravidian origin presents no serious complications. The main difference is that the Sanskrit has *r* in place of Drav. *l* (except in Tulu), but this presents no difficulty in view of the frequent alternation of *r* and *l* in Sanskrit, and also it was borrowed early enough to appear in the *Ṛgveda*, which prefers *r* to *l*.

Besides *mayūra–* the Sanskrit lexicographers provide two other words meaning peacock: *marūka–* and *mayūka–*. Of these *marūka–* would seem to rest on the Austro-asiatic forms mentioned above (Sant. *maraḱ*, etc.) with the vocalism adapted to that of *mayūra–*, while *mayūka–*looks like a compromise between *mayūra–* and *marūka–*.

In a very few words in Tamil, Malayalam, and Tuḷu an initial *ñ–* is found before other vowels than *ă/ĕ*:—

Ta. *ñimir* to be erect: Ta *nimir* to be straight erect, Ma. *niviruka* to stand erect, rise, Ka. *nimir* to be stretched out become erect, Tu. *nimuruni* to become straight.

Ta. *ñimir* to sound, hum; *imir*, *imiṟ* id.

Ta. *ñimiṟu* bee; Ta. *miñiṟu* bee; beetle.

Ta. *ñoḷku* to languish, become weak; faint; diminish, etc.

Ma. *ñoṭi* a snap of the fingers: *noṭi* id., Ta. *noṭi* id.

Ma. *ñōḷa* spittle, saliva, *noḷa* id., Tu. *ñōli* anything sticky, gummy, glutinous, viscous; saliva; phlegm, Ka. *loḷe* saliva, slaver; tenacious mucus, phlegm | >Skt. *lālā* saliva, spittle, slobber.

~Hg. *nyál* saliva, etc. (*D.S.* IV: *BSOAS.*, xi (1944), p. 339).

Tu. *ñoṅṅu* shrivelled, contracted.

In the case of Ta. *ñimiru* bee and Ma. *ñōḷa* spittle, etc., the related words in Uralian show that the palatal nasal is original. There are also a number of other words where no

trace of a palatal nasal is found in Dravidian, but where the corresponding Uralian words show that it must originally have existed.

Te. *nimuku* to suck. ~Lp. *njammat* to suck, Fi. *ime–*, Zyry. *ńimal–*, Osty. *em–*, Hg. *em–* id. | SamJu. *~ameadm*, T. *ńimirim*, O. *ńimaŋ–*, K. *ńimerlim* id.

Ta. *nīvu* to stroke, rub gently, Ka. *nīvu*, *nīvaru*, *nīvarisu* id., Tu. *nēvaipuni* to caress, Kui. *nēra* to rub, stroke, polish, massage, Kur. *nīṛnā* to rub, scrape.

~Hg. *nyű* (pr. 1 *nyüvök*) conterere, abwetzen, abtragen, *nyűved* sich abreiben, sich abwetzen, Md. *nevile–* sich abnutzen Cher. *niald–* permulcere, Est. *nüstma* sich reiben, scheuern (wie schweine).

Ta. Ma. Ka. *nīḷ* to be extended, long, Ta. Ma. *nīḷam* extension, length, Ta. Ma. *nīṭu* to grow long, be extended, lengthened, Ka. *nīḍu* to extend, stretch out as the fingers, Ta. Ma. *nīṭṭu* to lengthen, extend, stretch out, straighten, *nīṭṭam* length, elongation, stretching, Ta. Ma. *neṭu* long, tall, Ka. *niḍu* the state of being long drawn out or extended, *neṭṭage* straight.

~Hg. *nyúl* to be stretched out, extended, *nyújt* to extend, stretch out, Osty. *ńintšəm* sich dehnen, sich ausdehnen, Vog. *ńonši* dehnen, *ńūnšli* id., Voty. *najt–* id. | SamJu. *ńiensa* gerade Je. *noete*, O. *nīnze* id.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *nīr* water, Tu. *nīru*, Te. *nīru* id., Kui. *nīru* juice, sap, essence, Brah. *dīr* water | >Skt. *nīrá–* n. water, *nīvara–* n. water; mire.—With loss of initial *n–*: Ta. *īr* moistness wetness; freshness, greenness *īram* wet, moisture humidity, freshness, greenness, Ma. *īram* dirt; moisture, *īrikka* to grow damp, Te. *īmiri* moisture, Klm. *īr* water.

~Hg. *nyirk*, *nyirok* humor, succus, *nyirkos* humidus, *ny.– idő* feuchtes wetter, *ny. fa* noch saftiges, feuchtes holz,

nyers fresh, raw, Fi. *noro* feuchte, sumpfige u. niedrige stelle, *norua* triefen, träufeln, Est. *nõrendama* triefen, träufeln *nõrg* wasserabfluss, kleiner bach, *nirguma* rieseln, träufeln, LpN. *njoarra* to flow, Md. *nurge* triefen, Cher. *nörem* feucht, nass werden, Osty. *ńār* wet, damp, *ńīwəŋ* id. The following Finno-ugrian words meaning "bog, wet land, etc.", have been connected with the above: Fi *nurmi* wiese, Zyr- Voty. *ńur* sumpf, morast, Vog. *ńurm* wiese, *ńār* nasses land, Osty. *ńūrəm* sumpf. Corresponding to these we have in Dravidan Ta. *nurampu* mud, mire, Tu. *nurumbu* alluvium. Compare also the two meanings of Skt. *nīvara–* n. water; mire. The latter word is only found in the lexicographers in Sanskrit, but is of interest as preserving an earlier form out of which Ta. Ma. Ka. *nīr*, etc., is a contraction. Compare with this Drav. *īr*, *cīr*, *sīr* nit(s) representing **cīvar* (*D. S.* IV: *BSOAS*, xi, 349). A long form corresponding to Skt. *nīvara–* is found in Te. *īmiri* moisture, where the initial nasal has been lost and *–m–* appears alternating with *–v–* as usual. In Uralian we can compare Osty.*ńīwəŋ* damp. The other words are contractions of this, which accounts for the apparent irregularities of the vowel-correspondences[1]: Ta. Ma. Ka. *nīr*, Fi. *nor–*, Osty. *ńār*, etc. In the case of Ta. *nurampu*, Tu. *nurumbu* and probably in the corresponding Uralian forms, there is also a weakening of the first syllable due to the addition of the suffix.

Ta. *nuṉai* point, tip, end, *nuṉi* id., Ma. *nuni* tip. ~LpN. *njudne*, *njune* nase, schnauze, Fi. *nenä* nase, ende, spitze, Est.

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1. In view of the vowel-variations in the Uralian forms it would seem possible to connect Skt. *nārā* f. water, with these words. Skt. *nārā* is not in general use, but is quoted by Manu (1. 10) in supplying an etymology for the name *Nārāyaṇa*:-

Āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai narasūnavaḥ
tā yad asyâyanaṃ pūrvaṃ, tena Nārāyaṇah smṛtaḥ

The word need not have been invented by Manu, as B. and R. seem to think.

nina nase, vorstehendes ende, spitze, landzunge (*D.S.* IV: *BSOAS.*, xi (1944), p. 333).

Ta. *nurai* foam, froth, Ma. *nura*, Ka. *nore*, Tu. *nuré*, Te. *nurũgu, nuruvu* id. ~Osty. *ńāwer*, *ńéwr* schaum, Vog. *ńēr*, *ńär*, Zyr. *nir* id. (*D.S.* IV: *BSOAS.*, xi (1944), p 339). Gundert registers a form *ñura* in his dictionary with a cross-reference to *nura*.

Ta. *noḷḷu* to swallow, devour. Ka. *noṇe*<**nōḷe* id. ~ LpN. *njiellat* to swallow, devour, Fi. *niellä*, Md. *ńiléms*, Cher. *neľäm*, Zyr. *ńilalni*, Voty. *ńilni*, *ńulni–*, Vog. *ńoalt–*, Osty. *ńel–*, Hg. *nyel–* id, | SamJu. *ńallā*, T. *ńaltami'ema*, Je. *noddoabo* id. (*D.S.* IV: *BSOAS*, xi (1944), p. 333).

In all these words the palatal nasal has disappeared completely in Dravidian, its place being taken by the ordinary *n–*. The general tendency of Dravidian as compared with Uralian is the gradual substitution of *n–* for *ñ–*. This takes place most completely when the nasal is followed by *ĩ*, *ũ*, or *õ*. Here only a very few traces of *ñ* are preserved as in Ta. *ñimiṟu*, Ma. *ñōḷa*, etc. It is better preserved before *ã* and *e*, where it is still the rule in Malayalam and Classical Tamil. Even here it has occasionally been lost, as a comparison of the Dravidian and Uralian words for "tongue" shows (Ta. *nāvu*: Hg. *nyelv*, etc.). In modern colloquial Tamil the process has been continued and *n–* everywhere substituted for *ñ–*.

The words Ma. *ñōḷa* spittle, etc., deserve special mention in this connection, since in this case the vowel *–ō–* may not be original. The Skt. loanword *lālā* has the vowel *–ā–*, and so does the cognate word in Uralian, Hg. *nyál*. A number of other words can be quoted in which the vowels *ō* and *ā* fluctuate in Dravidian:—

Malt. *ōyu* a cow, Kur. *ōy* id.: Ta. *ā*, *āṉ* a cow, *āyam* a herd of cows, *āyaṉ* a cowherd, Ma. *ā* a cow, *āyan* a cowherd, Ka. *ā*, *āvu* a cow, Te. *āvu* id.

Ta. *ōcaṉ* preceptor, teacher, Ka. Te. *ōja* teacher, master, guru: Ta. *ācāṉ* teacher, guru, family priest, etc.

Kui *ōḍa* o goat: Ta *yāṭu, āṭu,* Ka. *āḍu* id.

Ta. *ōy* to diminish, be reduced, become small; to be tired, weary, weak; to expire, come to an end, *ōyccal* ceasing; weariness, debility, *ōyvu* id.: Ta. *āy* to diminish, be reduced; to suffer pain, *āyppu* being reduced in circumstances, power, energies, *āyvu* diminution, reduction; distress, suffering.

Ta. *ōr* to consider; to select, choose; to think, regard, *ōrcci* investigation, research, *ōrppu* id., Ma. *ōrka* to think, remember, expect, Ka. *ōru* to think, consider, inquire: Ta. *ār* in the cpd. *ārāy*[1] to investigate, examine, explore; consider, deliberate; seek, search, Ma. *ārāyka* id., Ka. *āray* to search, investigate, deliberate, *ārisu* select, pick out, choose, Te. *ērcu* choose, select.

Go. *sōṟitānā* to enter : Ta. *cār, cēr,* Ka. *sār, sēr* to approach, join, enter, have recourse to.

Ta. *cōmpu* to droop, fade; be dull, lethargic; be lazy, slothful, Ka. *jōmu* torpidity: Ta. Ma. *cāmpu* wither, droop; close up as flowers, shrink, shrivel, Tu. *cāmbuni* to close, shut, shrivel as a flower.

Ta. *cōlai* flower-garden, grove; Ma. *cōla* grove, shade. cool retreat: Kur. *cālā* grove, sacred grove, Malt. *cāle* a grove.

Tu. *nōrè* a kind of crane : Ta. *nārai,* Ma. *ñāra, nāra* id.

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1. The second part of the cpd. is also used independently in the same sense: Ta. *āy* to search, examine, investigate; to separate, sift; to consider; to select, choose; to pluck, gather, Ma. *āyka* to select, cull; gather, array, Ka. *āy* to select, gather, collect, cull, Tu. *āyuni* to select, gather, *āyāvuni* to winnow.

Ta. *nōmpu* to separate by winnowing: Ma. *nāvuka* to cleanse rice from stones: Ta. Ma. *nēmpu*, Te. *nēmu* to winnow.

Go. *nōne* rope, Kui *nōṇe* id., also *nōsu*: Ta. Ma. *ñāṇ* rope, string, cord, Ka. *nēṇ* id.

Ta. *nōṭṭam* examination, scrutiny, criticism, Ma. *nōṭṭam* viewing, examination, experienced eye, sharp sight, Ka. *nōḍu* to look at, view; examine, consider, *nōṭa* looking, viewing, sight, examination, Tu. *nōṭa* sight, vision; aim, *nōḍāvuni* to point at, show: Ta. *nāṭu* to seek; examine, investigate, *nāṭṭam* eyesight, vision; examination, investigation, scrutiny, Ma. *nāṭuka* to follow with the eyes, covet, seek, *nāṭṭam* investigation. Tu. *nāḍuni* to search, seek: Ta. *nēṭu* to seek, look out for; to consider; to aim at, pursue, desire; to earn, Ma. *nēṭuka* to gain.

Kui *pōrpa* to watch for, lie in wait, spy: Ta. *pār* to see, watch, look at, examine, Ma. *pārka* to look for, wait for, look after, Ka. *pār* to look for, wait for, look after, Te. *pāruva* sight, glance, Tu. *pāra* guard, custody, keeping.

To these examples the Malayalam inclusive plural of the pronoun of the first person may be added: *nōm* which appears beside *nām*; likewise the verbal termination of the first person, *-ōm*, which appears in Tamil of the middle period beside *-ām*, *-ēm*. The tendency is carried furthest of all in Toda, where according to Pope[1], *ô* and *â* are almost always interchangeable: thus the Kanarese *kâl* is in Toḍa *kôl*."

In some of these cases the *-ō-* is quite certainly secondary. Thus Ta. *-ōm*, the termination of the first person plural, is not found in the language of the earliest period. Likewise Ma. *nōm* is secondary as compared with Ta. Ma. *nām*, etc. In other cases too we find a *ō*-form appearing

1 Appendix to W. E. Marshall's *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, p. 242.

isolated in one language, while the majority of languages have *ā* : Kui *pōrpa*, *ōḍa*, Go. *sōṛitānā*, Ta *nōmpu*, Tu. *nōrè*, and in such cases the *-ō-* is obviously a secondary development. Whether it is so in all cases is not certain, but in any case the vowel correspondence Skt. *lālā* : Ka. *lōḷe* is one so well attested in Dravidian as to leave no doubt about the identity of the words.

In Kanarese *lōḷe* has developed out of **ñōḷe* by assimilation. The same development takes place in a number of other words in Kanarese, Kuvi, and Malto:—

Ḳa. *laḷḷi* crab : Ka. Ta. *naḷḷi* id., Ta. *naḷir* crab.

Ka. *lēvaḷa*, *lēvaḷa* a necklace of silver or gold; a silver or gold girdle or zone : Ka. *nēvaḷa* id., Tu. *nēvaḷa* a silver or gold girdle worn round the loins, Te. *nēvaḷamu*, *nēvaḍamu* id.

Kuvi *lelli* tamarind : Kui *neḍi* id., Ta. Ma. Ka. *nelli* Phyllanthus emblica, Go. *nalli* id.

Kuvi *lūlu* a thread : Kui *nūḍu*, Ta. Ma. Ka. *nūl*, Te. Tu. *nūlu* id.

Malt. *lēle* to-morrow: Kur. *nēlā* id.; Ta. *nāḷai* to-morrow, Ma. *nāḷa*, Go. *nāṛi* id.

Malt. *lole* to take out with a spoon : Ta. *noḷḷu* to bale out, as water, *noḷku* id., Kui *nolpa* to ladle out, Kur. *nollnā* to scoop out, ladle out.

Malt. *lulqe* to thrust in : Kur *nulgnā* to insert a thing into another.

Malt. *lōlu* a pumpkin, a gourd : Kur. *nōl* a pumpkin.

In addition to these words there are a number of other examples of *l-* developing out of original *n-* or *ñ-*:

Ka. *lekki*, *lakki*, *lokki* Vitex negundo : Ka. Tu. *nekki*, Ta. Ma. *nocci* id.

Ka. *laṅgar*, Tu. *laṅgaru̥*, Te. *langaru* ancher : Ta. *naṅkūram, naṅkuram*, Ma. *naṅkūram*, Ka. *naṅgal*, Tu. *naṅgaru̥, naṅgalu̥* id.[1]

Kuvi *linja* kernel, yoke of an egg : Kui *ninja* the heart of a tree, pith, Ta. *neñcu, neñcam* heart, breast, centre of a thing, Ma. *neñcu, neññu* id.

In other cases it is not always possible to say whether *l*– or *n*– is primary. Thus we find a word meaning "garlic" in the following forms :-

Kui *lesuṛi*, Malt. *nasnu* | Skt. *laśuna-, rasuna-*.

As the Sanskrit word has no IE etymology, it may be reasonably be regarded as a loanward from Dravidian, but whether initial *n*– or *l*– is original is difficult to say.

An initial *n*- appears to be secondary in Tu. *nāmbu* beside *lāmbu* mushroom, toadstool, fungus; cf. Ka. *aḷambe āḷambe, aṇabe, aṇambe* mushroom, Ta. *āmpi* id.

A similar fluctuation between *n*– and *l*- is found in a series of words meaning "lime, lemon" which are common to Dravidian and Indo-aryan, whatever their ultimate origin may be :-

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1 These are clearly loanwords from Gk. αγκυρα anchor, with an intrusive *n*– which is not infrequent in South Dravidian (Cald.[3], p. 158). Similar words are found in Indo-aryan, Mar. *nāṃgar* anchor, Hi., etc., *laṅgar* id., and in modern Persian *laṅgar*. The vocalism of Ta. *naṅkūram* is closer to that of the Greek word than that of any of the other forms, and consequently it cannot have reached the Tamils through Indo-aryan or Iranian. On the other hand, if the word first became current in South India it could easily have spread from there and produced the forms which now exist in Indo-aryan. J. Bloch (*Langue Mar.*, p. 357) confuses the words for "plough" and "anchor", but it is clear enough from Dravidian that they should be kept apart.

Ka. *nimbe*, *nimbi* the acid lime, citrus medica, Te. *nimma* the lime tree: Ka. *limbe* the acid lime, Tu. *limbi*, *limbè* the lemon-fruit, Citrus bergamia.

~Skt. *nimbū*, *nimbūka*- m. the common lime, Citrus acida, Hi. *nību* id., etc.: Guj. *lību*, Si. *limo* id.

In South Dravidian there is also the following series of related words:-

Ta. *elumiccai* lime, lemon, Ma. *elumicca*, Ka. *ilimiñci* Tod. (Matz.) *yizhmichch* id.

Here we find a prothetic vowel before an originally initial *l*–, a fact which suggests that in this case *l*– and no *n*– is primary.

Finally mention may be made of a few words in Sanskrit of Dravidian origin which show initial *l*– as opposed to *n*– or *ñ*– in Dravidian. A fluctuation between *l*– and *n*– occurs sporadically in Indo-aryan at all periods. Such examples are Skt. *naktaka*– a rag beside *laktaka*– id., Skt. *nikṣā* nit (Lex.): *likṣā* id., Pa. *pilandhati* to put on, bedeck, as opposed to *onandhati*, *upanandnati*, etc., Mar. *loṇī*, Hi. *lonī*, *nonī* butter < Skt. *navanīta*-,[1] and with the opposite development, Hi. *nōn*, *nūn*: *lon*, *lūn* salt < Skt. *lavaṇa*. Consequently it is not surprising to find *l*– for *n*– in Sanskrit words, even in such cases where no form with initial *l*– is found in Dravidian.

An obvious example of this change is the Sanskrit word for "plough", *lāṅgala*-. Compared with this all the Dravidian languages show initial *n*– or *ñ*–: Ta. *ñāñcil*, Ka. *nēgal*, Go. *nāngēl*, Kui *nāngeli*, etc. In this case Pali *naṅgala*– agrees with Dravidian.

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1 Attention should be drawn to the similarity of these words to Te. *nūne*, *nūniya* oil, Klm. *nūnē* id. There is one difficulty in the way of regarding the IA. words as being derived from Dr., and that is that Te. *nūne* meant originally "gingily oil" (*nuvvu* sesamum + *ney* oil), whence it develops the meaning of "oil" in general, but not that of "butter".

Another example occurs in the various words meaning "forehead" which occur in Indo-aryan and are ultimately derived from Dravidian : Skt. *rarāṭa-*, *lalāṭa-*; *niṭila*, *niṭala*, *niṭāla*, Pa. *nalāṭa-*, *lalāṭa*, Pkt. *ṇalāḍa-*, *ṇilāḍa*, *ṇaḍāla-*, *ṇiḍāla-*, *lalāḍa-*, ModIA. Hi. *lilāṛ*, Si. *nirāṛu*, Mar. *niḍaḷ*, *niḍhāḷ*, Sgh. *naḷala*, Nep. *nidhār*.

Corresponding to these words we find in Dravidian the following series :-

Ta. Ma. *nutal* forehead, Ka. *nosal*, Tu. *nesalụ*, *nasuḍi*, Te. *nuduru*, *nosalu* id.; Malt. *nitlu* the crown of the head.

These words can hardly be seperated from the following words of the same meaning, which are distinguished by absence of the *l*-suffix and a stronger grade of the intervocalic consonant :-

Ta. Ma. *neṟṟi* forehead, Ka. *netti* forehead, crown of the head, Tu. Te. *netti* id., Go. *nēch* the crown of the head.

The IA. words are derived from the Dravidian series with the *l*- suffix, and the most original forms, i.e. those closest to the original Dravidian, are Skt. *niṭāla-*, Pkt. *naḍāla-*, Nep. *nidhār*, etc. By transposition of the last two consonants we get forms like Pa. *nalāṭa-*, Pk. *nalāḍa*, and from this type by assimilation Skt. *lalāṭa-*, Hi. *lilāṛ*, etc.

Lastly the following series of words in Indo-aryan appears to be derived from Dravidian :-

Skt. *lola-* dangling, swinging, moving hither and thither, shaking, rolling, *lolā* the tongue (Lex.), *lolakuṇḍala-* having dangling or pendant earrings, *lolajihva-* having the tongue hanging out, Pa. Pkt *lola-* Id. ; Skt. *lelāyati* to move to and fro, shake, dangle, *lelā* moving to and fro, wavering; Hi. *lolnā* to shake, *lolā* the tongue of a bell, earring, pendant, Nep. *lolā* a hanging ear-ornament; pendant flesh, Mar. *loḷ* rolling over, Guj. *loḷo* tongue, *loḷiyũ* pendant ornament, Sgh. *lela* moving, etc.

The words can be derived from a Dravidian series meaning "to hang, swing, dangle" :-

Ta. *ñāl* to hang, to be pendent, *ñāṟṟu* to hang up, suspend (< **ñālt-*), *nāl* to hang, swing, be suspended, *nāṟṟu* to hang, suspend, Ma. *ñāluka* to hang, swing, *ñāli* suspended, *ñālik-kātu* a hanging ear, *ñeluka* to hang as an ornament, *ñēṟṟuka* to let dangle, as a tassel, *ñēṟṟam* ornamental hangings, Ka. *nēl* to be suspended; to hang, swing, dangle, Tu. *nēluni* to hang, be suspended; to swing, vibrate.

The phonetic changes involved in connecting the Indo-aryan words with the Dravidian are all such as have become familiar in the course of this paper. Initial *ñ-* changes to *l-* as a result of assimilation to the following *-l-*, and *ō* in Skt. *lola-* corresponds to *-ā-* in Ta. *ñāl-*, etc., in accordance with a fluctuation which we have seen to be common in Dravidian. In Dravidian the influence of the initial palatal nasal causes an original *ā* to be turned to *ē* in certain languages, according to the general rule: Ma. *ñēl*, Ka. Tu. *nēl* as opposed to Ta. Ma. *ñāl*, Ta. *nāl*; and this is reflected in Indo-aryan by forms like Skt. *lelāyati* he moves to and fro, and Sgh. *lela* unsteady, wavering, beside the usual forms, Skt. *lola-*, etc.

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES VI

THE LOSS OF INITIAL *c/s* IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN

A frequent phenomenon in Tamil and Malayalam loan-words from early Indo-Aryan is the dropping of an initial sibilant.[1] More rarely examples occur in Telugu and Kanarese. Cases can be quoted for all the there Sanskrit sibilants, though the immediate source of the borrowings are forms with Prakrit *s*–.

(1) Sanskrit *ś*–:—

Ta. *araṇ*, *araṇam* defence, refuge, fortress, Ma. *araṇ* stronghold: Skt. *śaraṇa*- shelter, place of shelter or refuge.

Ta. *a.:kulli* a steamed meal-cake[2]: Skt. *śaṣkuli*–. °*ī* f. a large round cake, composed of ground rice, sugar, and sesamum, and cooked in oil; cf. Ka. *cakkuli* id.

Ta. *āṭai* cloth, dress, garment, Ma. *āṭa* flowing garment, chiefly of women, children, idols: Skt. *śāṭa*(*ka*-) a strip of cloth, a kind of skirt or petticoat.

Ta. *ālai* apartment, hall; elephant-stable or stall, Ma. *āla* shed, workshop, cowhouse: Skt. *śālā* hall, shed, stable, etc.

Ta, *ikalaṉ* jackal[2]: Skt. *śṛgāla*- m. Pa. *sigālo* id.; cf. Kurukh *cigāla* jackal.

Ta. *ulku* toll, custom, duty, Te. *uṅkuva* bride-price: dowry: Skt. *śulka*- toll, tax, customs, etc.

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1 Cf. S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, *The Sanskrit Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages*, pp. 27–48, Madras, 1923 (*Dravidic Studies* III).

2 The borrowing could be the other way round.

Ta. *yāmaḷam* green. dark-green, *Yāmaḷai* n. of Durgā: Skt. *śyāmala-* dark-coloured, *Śyāmalā* a form of Durgā.

In the following words a Pkt. *s-* representing Skt. *śr-* has disappeared:

Ta. *amaṇ* Jainism, the Jain sect; nudity, *amaṇam* id., *amaṇar* Jain ascetics: Skt. *śramaṇa-*, Pkt. *samaṇa-* ascetic, monk.

Ta. *aviṭṭam* n. of a nakṣatra, Ma. *aviṭṭam*: Skt. *śraviṣṭhā*, Pkt. *saviṭṭhā*.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *āvaṇi* n. of a month: Skt. *śrāvaṇa-* m. n. of a month, *śrāvaṇī* f. the day of the full moon in the month Śrāvaṇa.

Ta. *eṭṭi* merchant, member of the Vaiśya caste, Ma. *eṭṭiyān*: Skt. *śreṣṭhin-*, Pa. *seṭṭhi*.

Ta. *ēṇi* ladder, tier, Ma. Ka. Tu. *ēṇi* ladder: Skt. *śreṇi-* row, range, series, *niḥśreṇi-* ladder, Pa. Pkt. *seṇi-*, *nisseṇi-*.

Ta. Ma. *ōṇam* n. of a nakṣatra: Skt. *śravaṇa-*, *śroṇa-*.

(2) Skt. *ṣ-*:—

Ta. *aṇṇakaṉ*, *aṇṇāḷan* eunuch, hermaphrodite: Skt. *ṣaṇḍha-*.

(3) Skt. *s-*:—

Ta. Ma. *anti* twilight, evening: Skt. *sandhi-* junction; the interval between day and night, twilight.

Ta. Ma. *amar* battle: Skr. *samara-*.

Ta. *amaiyam* time, occasion, Ka. *amaga* time, occasion, season: Skt. *samaya-*.

Ta. *avai* assembly, assembly-hall: Skt. *sabhā*.

Ta. Ma. *āyiram* a thousand, Ka. *sāsira*, *sāvira*, Tu. *sāvira*, *sāra*: Skt. *sahasra-*.

Ta. *intu* the river Indus, Ta. Ma. *int-uppu* rocksalt from Sindh, Te. *induppu* a kind of rock-salt: Skt. *sindhu*--

Ta. Ma. *īyam* lead: Skt. *sīsa*– id.

Ta. Ma. *īṟam* Ceylon: Skt. *siṃhala*–, Pa. *sīhala*–.[1]

Ta. *ūci* needle: Skt. *sūci*– id.

Ta. *uvaṇam* white-headed kite, valturc: Skt. *suparṇa*–.

A Sanskrit intervocalic sibilant is liable to be omitted in the same way.

Ta. *avuṇar* Asuras: Skt. *asura*– (For the –*ṇ*– compare Ta. *umaṇar* salt-merchant < *uvar* salt. A later adaptation is *atirar* [Ta. Lex. Suppl.].).

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[1] In the case of this word it is very likely that Indo–aryan has borrowed from Dravidian. Tamil and Malayalam hardly ever substitute –*ṟ*–, a peculiarly Dravidian sound, for Skt. –*l*–, and *Sīhaia*–, *Siṃhala*– could easily have been adapted by popular etymology from an original Dravldian form **cīṟam*. It is to be presumed that the Dravidians of South India had a name for Ceylon before the coming of the Indo–aryans. The following words need to be considered in this connection: Ta. *īṟam* toddy, Ta. Ma. *īṟavar* the caste of toddy–drawer in Tinnevelly, Travancore, and Malabar, Ka. *īḍi* toddy, *īḍiga* a man of the toddy-drawer's caste, Te. *īṇḍra* the toddy-drawer caste, *īṇḍravāḍu* a member of that caste, *īḍiga* id. The *īṟavar* are said to have migrated from Ceylon in the remote past and to derive their name from *īṟam* Ceylon. This tradition may be only a deduction from their name, Since it is impossible to separate Ta. Ma. *īṟava*– from Te. *īḍiga*, etc., and the latter caste has no tradition of Ceylonese origin. The words are most simply derived from Ta. *īṟam* toddy; possibly *īṟam* Ceylon was named from *īṟam* toddy, after the palm–trees with which it is well stocked and the toddy produced from them. An earlier from of the word would be **cīṟam* (whence *Sīhala*–), the *c*– being lost later as in the many examples quoted below. It should be noted that Kanarese toddy–drawers are Telugu immigrants, and the Kanarese words loan–words from Telugu.

Ta. Ma. *tai* n. of a mouth : Skt. *taiṣa–*.

Ta. *tēm* country, district : Skt. *deśa–*.

Ta. *tōm* fault, defect, vice : Skt. *doṣa–*.

Ta. *nirvāṇam* nakedness : Skt. *nirvasana–*.

Ta. *uvā* new moon; full moon, *uvavu* id. Ma. *uvāvu, vāvu* full moon, change of moon, holiday: Skt. *upavāsa–*, Pkt. *ovāsa–* fast; cf. Skt. *upavasatha*, Pa. *posatha–*, Sgh. *pohoya* the fasts observed on the occasion of the four phases of the moon.

Ta. *tuṟāy, tuḷavu* sacred basil: Skt. *tulasī*. In this case it is very likely that the Sanskrit word is derived from Dravidian. The same is the case with the following word which is quoted for disappearance of *-s–*:

Ta. *palā, palavu* jack fruit, *plāvu* Ma. *pilāvu*, Ka, *halase, haḷasa*, Tu. *pela, pila, peja*, Tod. *paṣof*, Te. *panasa*, Kuvi *panha*, Malt. *panṛsa*: Skt. *panasa–, palasa–, phanasa–, phalasa–* jack-fruit.

The case of the following word appears to be more complicated :

Ta.*aiyavi* mustard, *ayami* (L.) id.: Skt.*sarṣapa–* mustard. Pkt. *sāsava–* id. If the Tamil word were derived from Middle Indo–aryan, we should expect a long vowel in the first syllable, i.e. **āyavi*. Such a long vowel is found in the other South Dravidian adaptations: Ka. *sāsavi, sāsave, sāsime*, Tu. *dāsemi, sāsemi* Te. *sāsavulu* mustard seeds. But Ta. *aiyavi* should represent earlier **sasavi*. This form corresponds closely to Malay, Jav. *sĕsawi* quoted by Przyluski and Régamey[1] in discussing the Austro–asiatic forms of this word. It is likely that the Tamil word is derived directly from an Austro–asiatic source, and not through an Indo-aryan intermediary. We may note also the peculiar Tuḷu form *santeṃi*

1. *BSOS.*, VIII (1936), p. 703.

wild mustard. In view of the common Tuḷu interchange of *t* and *s*, likewise of *-m-* and *-v-*, we may take this as representing an earlier **sansevi*, **sansavi*. This is the same word with the addition of the common Austro-asiatic infix *-n-*. Here again the borrowing must have been direct and not through Indo-aryan.

Very rarely an initial affricate is dropped in words borrowed from Indo-aryan:

Ta. *āvam* bow-string, Ta. Ma. *āva-nāṟi* quiver: Skt. *cāpa-* bow, Pkt. *cāva-*.

Ta. *ēṭaṉ* slave: Skt. *ceṭa* servant, slave.

Ta. *ēmam* defence, protection; safety; happiness, comfort, beside *cēmam* safety, well-being, welfare: Pkt. *chema-*, Skt. *kṣema-* safety, comfort, welfare.

Ta. *ellari* a kind of drum, beside *callari* id. Skt. *jhallari* a kind of drum or cymbal.

In the case of most of these words forms with initial *c-* representing the Sanskrit sibilants are also to be found in Tamil, namely: Ta. *caraṇ*, *caraṇam* shelter, refuge, asylum, Ta. *caṅkulli* a kind of pastry or cake, Ta. *cālai* hall, shed, etc., Ta. *culkam* bride-price; prize, Ta. *cāmaḷam* blackness: dark-green colour, *Cāmaḷai* name of Durgā, Ta. *camaṇ*, *camaṇam* Jainism; nudity, *camaṇar* Jains, Ta. *ceṭṭi* merchant, Ta. *cēṇi* ladder; order, arrangement, Ta. *caṇṭaṉ* eunuch, hermophrodite, Ta. *canti* evening, dusk, Ta. *camar*, *camaram* battle, war, Ta. *camayam* time season, Ta. *cavai*, *capai* assembly, Te. *cintu* sea; the Indus; Sindh, Ta. *cicam* lead, Ta. *cuvaṇam* a kind of bird, eagle, Ta. *cūci* needle.

These forms with initial *c-* appear in the later literature and as time goes on tend to replace the earlier forms without *c-*, They are reintroduced from Sanskrit. The process had already begun by the time of the earliest literary documents,

where a few such words are found: *cēmam* KuT. 277, *cāttu* caravan ib. 390: Skt. *sārtha-*, *cāpam* Naṟṟ. 228, *cāvam* (v.l. *cāpam*) PN. 14 bow: Skt. *cāpa-*. Of these only *cāttu* represents a Sanskrit sibilant. In the case of the two following words which occur early in Tamil there is reason to believe that Sanskrit has borrowed from Dravidinn rather than the other way round:

(1) Ta. *cākāṭu* cart, carriage; cart-wheel, *cāṭu* cart. *cakaṭu, cekaṭai, cakaṭam* id., Ma. *cakaṭu, cāṭu* cart, Ka. *cakkaḍi, cakkaḍā*, Te. *cekaḍā*: Skt. *śakaṭa-* cart. Tamil *cakaṭam* can naturally be regarded as a loanword from Skt., but it is difficult to account for *cākāṭu* in this way since there is no apparent reason why the long vowels should be introduced. It is possible that in *cākāṭu* we have a native Dravidian word which is the source of Skt. *śakaṭa-*. Ta. *cakaṭam*, on the other hand, is to be regarded as derived from the Sanskrit word; the Ka. and Te. forms *cakkaḍā* and *cekaḍā* are quite modern and taken from Mar. *chekḍā*.

(2) Ta. *caṭai* matted locks of hair: Skt. *jaṭā*. Besides *jaṭā* Sanskrit has also *śaṭā* as ascetic's clotted hair, and *saṭā* matted locks of hair; mane of a lion, etc.; also Skt. *chaṭā* mass seems to belong to this group. This alternation between sonant and surd and also between sibilants and affricates is an unusual feature in Sanskrit, but very familiar in Dravidian, and points strongly to the conclusion that the words are borrowed from that source.

Excluding these words, therefore, it is clear that the existence of Ta. *c-* in early Tamil texts corresponding to a Skt. sibilant, or even to Skt. *c-*, etc., is exceedingly rare. Its reintroduction, however, has just begun, as observed in instances like *cēmam, cāttu*. We may therefore eonclude that in

earliest series of these loan-words the initial consonant was regularly lost, and that since a few examples with *c-* are already found in the earliest texts, the period at which the earliest loan-words, that is those suffering this loss, were acquired would seem to lie some time previous to the earliest literary records. It is also reasonable to conclude that a word which loses the initial sibilant must have been borrowed early, even if it does not happen to occur very early in literature. For instance, Ta. *ōṇam*, *tiruv-ōṇam*, and Ta. *aviṭṭam* are not, according to the Tamil lexicon, found very early: nevertheless they, along with the other names of months and nakṣatras, must for this reason be among the very earliest loan-words. On the other hand, words which never lose the initial consonant—like *cāttu* caravan, *caṅkili* chain, *cikaram* peak, etc.,— have been borrowed at a later period, that is, after this rule ceased to operate.

The loss of an initial sibilant, and occasionally of an affricate in loan-words from Sanskrit, is paralled within the native Dravidian vocabulary by the loss of the initial phoneme which appears in some languages as *c-* and others as *s-*. This development is found in the Southern Dravidian languages — Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Tuḷu, Toda, Kota, Telugu — but not in the Central and Northern languages. A typical example is the word for "plough, yoke of oxen":

Ta. Ma. *ēr* plough, yoke of oxen, Ka. *ār*, *ēru* a pair of oxen yoked to a plough, Te. *ēru* a plough with draught oxen made ready for ploughing: Kui *sēru* a yoke of oxen, a pair, two of cattle for ploughing, Go. *sēr* a plough.

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar,[1] in discussing this and some

1 *Linguistic History of Certain Dravidian Words* (*J.D.L.*, Calcutta, 1929), p. 7 n. ; *JORM.*, iv (1930), p. 171; *IA.*, vol. 61, p. 29.

similar words, suggests the implausible explanation that Kui *s*– has developed out of an original 'prothetic glide' which he writes *ȳ*. E. H. Tuttle,[2] on the other hand, sought the explanation in a primitive Dravidian *s* which has disappeared in the southern languages. He quotes such examples as:

Kui *siḍa*: Ta. *illai* not, etc.
Go. *sārung*: Ta. *āṟu* six, etc.
Go. *saiyung*: Ta. *ai*– five, etc.

There is, however, reason to doubt this theory of Dravidian *s* as a separate sound. The Dravidian languages are so divided that the phoneme which appears in some as *c*– appears in others as *s*–. Gondi and Kui always have *s*– and not *c*–. It is possible that *s* has developed out of *c*– or, less likely, vice versa. But the evidence does not point to the existence of a primitive phoneme *s*– side by side with *c*–. This question will be touched on again later. In the meanwhile it will be convenient to give a list of all the cases in which an initial *c* or *s* has disappeared in one or more of the South Dravidian languages :—

Ta. *aṇil, aṇilam* squirrel, Ma. *aṇil, aṇṇal, aṇṇān*, Ka. *aṇil, aṇal, aḷal; iṇaci; aḷḷe, aḷḷūma*, Tod. (Rivers) *anīli*: Tu. *caṇilụ, taṇilụ*, Kui *siruni, siruṛi* id.

Ta. *akkuḷ* armpit, *akkuḷu* to tickle, Ma. *akkuḷam* armpit, tickling, *ikkiḷi* tickling, Ka. *akaḷe* a term used in tickling *akkaḷike* tickling: Ka. *cakkalaguḷi* tickling another, Te. *cakkili* armpit, *cakkiliginta, cakkiligili* tickling, Malt. *chéql-kūṇḍe* to tickle, Kur. *cangrnā* to itch, to be the seat of a titillation, *cangrta'ānā* to tickle.

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2 *Dravidian S, Amer. Journal of Philology*, vol. 40 (1919), pp. 76–84.

Ka. *anda* fitness, beauty; manner, form, Tu. *anda* form, shape; beauty, elegence, *andacanda* very handsome, very pleasant, Te. *andamu* beauty, *andagāḍu* a handsome man, *andagiñcu* to look beautiful: Ka. *canda, cenda* beautiful; fitness, beauty; shape, form; *canna, cenna* a handsome man, *cannu, cennu* straightness, beauty, grace, niceness; properness, excellence, Tu. *canda* beauty, elegance, *canna* handsome, well, Te. *candamu* manner, way; state, condition, *canu* to be fit, proper, becoming, *cennu* beauty, grace, elegance; manner, way. Kittel derives Ka. *canda* from Skt. *chanda-* pleasing; pleasure, wish, desire; appearance, shape, but the word is not to be separated from the other words listed here, which he regards as native Dravidian; also it would be strange, if the words are derived from Sanskrit, that what is much the commonest, and indeed the ordinary meaning in classical Sanskrit, should not be represented in Dravidian. Ta. *antam* beauty and *cantam* beauty; shape form, are loan-words from Telugu or Kanarese.

Ta. *Atiyamā<u>n</u> Neṭumān Añci*, name of a king in whose honour some poems were composed by the poetess Auvaiyār PN. 87 (colophen) = *Atiyar Kōmā<u>n</u>* king of the Atiyar PN. 91, 3: Aśoka inscr. *Satiyaputo*, name of a king in South India. The identification of *Atiyamā<u>n</u>* with *Satiyaputo* is proposed by K. G. Sesha Aiyar[1] and is evidently correct, though his opinion that the *s-* of *Satiyaputa* is a secondary development is naturally the reverse of the truth. Ta. *Atiyar* is the name of the people, and the word *mā<u>n</u>*, which is a shortened form of *maka<u>n</u>* son, is added to this precisely as in *Cēramā<u>n</u>* title of the Cēra kings, which corresponds in the same way to

1 *Cēra Kings of the Śangam Period*, p. 18, London, 1937.

Aśoka's *Keralaputo*. *Atiya-* (<Satiya- / *Catiya-) must of course be a native name, and cannot be connected with Skt. *satya-* true.

Ta. *appu* thigh: Ta. *ceppu* hip, *cappai* hip, haunch, Ka. *cappe* the hip-bone, Te. *jabbu* the shoulder; the outer side of the thigh.

Ka. *apparisu* to through to the ground (in wrestling), *appaḷisu* to strike against anything, to flap, slap, Tu. *appaḷipuni* to strike against anything with the open hand, to squash, Te. *appaḷamu* clapping, flapping, striking, *appaḷiñcu* to flap, slap, touch; to smear, apply, Ta. *appaḷi* to remove unevenness in the wall by placing pieces of brick or tile with chunam when plastering (*Loc.*, <Te): Ta. *cappāṇi* clapping hands, Ka. *capparisu* to slap, to pat, *cappaḷi* clapping the hands, *cappaḷe*, *cappaṭe* id., *cappaḷisu* to slap, to pat, *tappaḷisu* id, Tu. *cappāḷi* clapping the hands, *cappaḷipuni* to clap the hands, Te. *cappaṭa* a clap of the hands, *cappaṭiñcu* to clap, slap, | >Skt. *capeṭa* a slap with the open hand, etc.

Ka. *appaṭe* flatness: Ka. *cappaṭe*, *capaṭe* id., etc.

Ta. *amar* to be suitable, agreeable; to fit; to resemble, to do, perform, *amai* vb. °*tal* to be fit, suitable, agreeable; to be together, connected, joined; to prepare onself, get ready; to be accomplished, settled, °*ttal* to bring together; to prepare, effect, accomplish, sb. fitness. Ma. *ameyuka* to agree, *amekka* to join, attach. Ka. *amar* to come together, be united; to fit, be agreeable; to be produced, arise, appear, *amarcu*. *amarisu* to bring together, join, attach; to put on, fix on; to prepare, do fitly, perform, Tu. *amāruni* to suit, fit, Te. *amayu* to be useful or serviceable, *amaru* to suit, fit, be agreeable; to be prepared or ready, *amarcu* to prepare, make ready, fit up,

supply: Ta. *camai* vb. °*tal* to be suitable, to get ready, prepare oneself; to be made, constructed; to mature, °*ttal* to get ready, prepare; to create; to do, perform; to cook, Ma. *camayuka* to get ready, to dress well; to assume a shape; to be matured, grow, *camekka* to prepare, cook; to produce an effect, Ka. *samanisu, savanisu* to grow ready or prepared; to be acquired; to be brought about, occur, *samaṟu, savaṟu* to make proper, fit; to trim, *same, save* to be made ready, prepared; to make ready, prepare, Te. *savariñcu* to trim, set right.

Ta. Ma. *aravu, aravam* a snake; Kui *srāsu,* Kuvi *rācu,* Go. *tarās, tarāsh* id.

Ta. Ma. *allal* affliction, distress, grief: Ta. *cellal* sorrow, suffering. affliction.

Ta. *aḷi* coolness (*Parip*°): Ta. Ma. *caḷi* cold.

Ta. *aruvi* waterfall, cascade, *aruvu* to spring out and gently flow down, Ma. *aruvu, arivi* waterfall: Ta. *cari* to slide down, fall down; a declivity, Ma *cariyuka* id., *carivu* a declivity, Ka. *sari* to slide, fall down, *saṟi* a steep precipice, also *jari, jarugu,* Tu. *jariyuni* to slip, slide down. Cf. Skt. *sari* (Lx.) cascade, waterfall (lw.)

Ta. *āccā* Sāl tree, *Shorea robusta*, Ka. *āsu* the Sāl tree, *Shorea robusta* Roxb., *ācā, ārse* id.: probably from an original **sārc–/sārj–*, cf. Skt. *sarja–*, *Vatica robusta,* which could have been borrowed from the original Dravidian form.

Ta. *āy* to be diminished, reduced; smallness, minuteness, *ācu* minuteness; trifling, small thing, *āyvu* diminution: Ta. *cāy* to grow thin, emaciated; to be dried up as a ehannel, *cāyvu* deficiency, straightened circumstances.

Ta. *āy* beauty; to be beautiful, *ai, aitu* beauty: Ta. *cāy* beauty, colour, brilliance, *cāyal* beauty, gracefulness, colour, form.

Ta. *ār* to combine with, belong to; to resemble: Ta. *cār* to be near, connected with, joined to, Ka. *sār* to approach, be joined, associated with.

Ta. *āmai*, *yāmai* a tortoise, Ma. *āma*, Ka. *āme*, *āve*, *ēve*, Tu. *ēme* id.: Kui *sēmbi* a tortoise, Te. *tā̃bēlu* id. (*t*-< *s*-).

Ta. *āṉṟa* extensive, excellent, *āṉṟal* greatness, abundance, *āṉṟavar* great men, men of exalted character: Ta. *cāṉṟavar*, *cāṉṟōr* the great, the learned, the noble (<Ta. *cāl* to be abundant, extensive, great, noble; Ka. *sāl*, Te. *cālu*).

Ta. *ikal* intricacy, obscurity, involvedness: Ta. *cikku* to become entangled, complicated; complication, intricacy, Ka. *sikku* to be entangled, Te. *sikku* id.

Te. *iguru*, Ka. *igaru* shoot, sprout: Te. *ciguru*, Ka. *cigur*, *cigī* id., Tu. *ciguruni*, *tiguruni*, *śiguruni* to sprout, Kur. *cigī* sprout blade, *cigiyārnā* to sprout.

Ta Ma. *iñci* ginger: Skt. *śṛṅgavera*, Pa. *siṅgī*, *siṅgivera*, *BSOAS*., XI (1943),. p. 130.

Ta. *iṭi* to break, crumble; (tr.) to break, beat, pound, crush, strike; to thunder; (sb.) blow; anything pulverized, thunder, Ma.*iṭika* crumble, fall to pieces, *iṭikka* to beat, bruise demolish, break down, *iṭi* a stroke, a bow; bruising, pounding; thunderbolt, Ka. *iḍi* to be powdered, ground, to crumble, (tr.) to pound, beat, Te. *iḍiyu* to fall to pieces, split, crack: Ka *siḍi* to burst forth spontaneously as seeds from a fruit, to bounce, *siḍil* to be scattered in different directions, to become loose, Te. *ciṭṭu* to crack, break, snap, split, Tu. *śeḍipuni* to box with the fingers as the ear; Ka *siḍil* thunderbolt, Tu, *teḍilu̥* thunder, thunderbolt, thunderclap | >Skt. *taḍit* lightning.

Ta. *itai* sail of a ship: Ta *citai* id.; cf. Ta. *citār* cloth, etc.

Ta. Ma. *ippi* oyster-shell: Ta. Ma. *cippi*, Ka. *cippu*, *sippu*, Te. *cippa* id. | >Pa. Pkt. *sippī* id.

Ta. *imiẓ* to bind: Ta. *cimiẓ* to bind, tie, entrap.

Ta. *imil* hump on the withers of an Indian bull, hump of the zebu: Ta. *cimiẓ* (Loc.) hump, *timil* hump, as of a bullock; cf. Ta. *cimai* summit of a mountain, peak.

Ta. *imai* eyelid; winking; vb. to wink, Ma. *ima* eyelid *imekka* to blink, Ka. *eme*, *eve*, Tu. *ime* eyelid: Ta. *cimiẓ* to wink, blink, *cimiḷi*, *cimiṭṭu* id., Ma. *cima* eyelid, eyelash, *cimuṭu* to wink, *cimpuka*, *cīmpuka* to twinkle with the eyes, Tu. *sime*, *simme* eyelid. | >Skt. *śmīl* (*Dhātup.*) to blink.

Ta. *il*, *illai* not, Ma. *illa*, Ka. *il*, *illa*, Te. *lēdu*, etc., Tu. *ijji*: Go. *hille*, Kui *siḍa*, Parji *cille*; cf. Malt. *cile* to forbid.

Ta. *il*, *illam*, *illi* clearing-nut tree, *ilavu* id.: Ta. *cillam*, Ka. Te. *cilla* id.

Ta. ilir to stand on end as the hair; to bristle; to sprout, germinate; *cilir* id., *ciluppu*, *cilumpu* to bristle, Kui *slīnga* to stand on end (hair).

Ta. *illi* hole, leak: Ta. *cilli*, Ka. *jilli*, Te. *cilli* id.

Ta. *ilaṅku* to shine, glisten, glitter, Ma. *ilakuka* to shine, twinkle: Te. *celāgu* to shine, be splendid, Tu. *jalakuni* to shine, glitter.

Ta. *iraṟṟu* to make a noice: Ta. *ciraṟṟu* id.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *iẓi* to descend : Go. *siṛ* down, below.

Ta. *iḷai* to grow weary, be fatigued; to fail, lag behind, *iḷaippu* lassitude, distress: Ta. *ciḷai*, *caḷai* to weary, become tired, Ka. *caḷi* to become tired or fatigued, to lose one's spirits, succumb.

Ta. *iṟa* to pass away, to pass beyond; to excel, be pre-eminent, *iṟappu* passing beyond, away; superiority, heavenly bliss: Ta. *ciṟa* to surpass, excel, be illustrious, *ciṟappu* superiority, pre-eminence, prosperity, Ma. *ciṟakka* to excel.

Ta. *iṟai, iṟaku* wing, Ma. *iṟaku*, Ka. *eṟake, ekke, ṟekke*, Tu. *reṅke, ediṅke*, Te. *eṟaka, ṟekka, neṟaka*: Ta. *ciṟai, ciṟaku, ciṟakar* wing, Ma. *ciṟaku* id.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *ī* to give, Te. *iccu*: Kui *sīva*, Kuvi *hīali*, Go. *siānā*, Parji *ci-*, Kolami, Naiki *si-*, Kur. *ci'inā*, Malt. *ciye*.

Ta. *īṅkai* a species of mimosa, *īkai, īkkai, īṅku* id., Ma. *īṅṅa*, *Mimosa ingu*, the bark of which is used in bathing: Ta. *cīkkāy*, Ma. *cīṅṅa* (dialectally in the South), *cīkakāy, Mimosa abstergens* (the fruit serves for cleansing the hair after bathing), Ka. *sīge, Acacia concinna*.

Ta. *īntu* date-palm, *īñcu, īccam-paṉai* id., Ma. *ītta, īttal*, Ka. *īcal*, Tu. *īñcilụ, īcilụ*, Te. *īta* the wild date tree, *īdu, īdāḍu* id.: Kui *sīta* a small date | >Pkt. *sindī-* a small date, Skt. *hintāla-* date-palm.

Ta. Ma. *īr* nit, louse's egg, Ka. *īr* id.; (vb.) to comb out nits, *īraṇige* a comb for removing nits. Te. *īru* nit, egg of a louse, *īrucu* to comb out nits: Ka. *sīr* nit, Tu. *tīrụ* id., *tiruvaṇa* nitpick, Go. *sīr* nit, Kuvi *hīru*, Kur. *cīr* id.

Ka. *ugi* to pull, pull or tear off, draw away, pull out: Ka. *sugi* to tear off, strip off, to plunder, peel.

Ka. *ugi* to fear: Ka. *sugi* id.

Ta. *ucil* black sirissa, *ucilai, uñcil, ūñcil, uṟ̤iñcil* id.: Ta. *tuṟ̤iñci, tuṟ̤iñcil* id., Ka. *sirsala, sirasala, sirisa, Acacia sirissa*; cf. Skt. *śirīṣa-* id. (lw. < Dr.).

Ta. *uṭal* to be angry, enraged; to fight; (sb.) anger, enmity, hatred, *uṭaṟu* id., *uṭaṟṟu* to anger, vex, provoke: possibly < **cuṭal*, cf. *cuṭu* to burn, be hot, and for the development of meaning Ta. *vemmai, veṅ-kaṇ* in the sense of "anger".

Ta. *uṭu* to put on, as clothes; to surround, encircle, *nṭukkai, uṭuppu, uṭai* clothing, garment, dress, Ma. *uṭukka* to put on, chiefly the lower garment, *uṭuppu* clothes, *uṭa* cloth, garment, Ka. *uḍu* to wind or wrap round the waist and fasten there by tucking in, *uḍupu* clothes, Te. *uḍupu* dress: probably < *cuṭu*; cf. Ta. *cūṭu* to wear on or round the head, to be enveloped, *cūṭṭu* to adorn as with garlands, to crown, spread over as an army; (sb.) a garland, crest; felly of a wheel, Ma. *cūṭuka* to wear on the head (crown), over the head (umbrella), Ka. *sūḍu* to put round the head, as flowers.[1]

Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. Te. *uppu* salt, Ta. *uvar* salt, brackishness Ma. *uvar, ōr*, Ka. *ogar(u)*. Tu. *ubarụ, ogarụ*, Te. *ogarụ* id.: Kolami *supp* salt, Go. *sawwōr*, (Maria dialect) *hovar, ovar* Kui *sāru*, Kuvi *hāru* id.

Ta. *utti* spots on the head of a cobra; spots on the skin of women considered marks of beauty: < **cutti*, cf. *tutti, titti* id., also *titalai*, Tu. *ciṭṭi* a small spot or speck, *tiṭṭi* white spots on leaves. The correspondence of intervocalic *-tt-* in Tamil with *-ṭṭ-* in Tuḷu points to an original affricate there. With a different suffix Tuḷu has *śiḍibu, śiḍubu* the pustule of smallpox, which with assimilation appears in Kanarese as *cibbu, sibbu* a whitish, reddish, or blackish spot on the body. The Kanarese grammarians and, following them, Kittel, derive this last word from Skt. *sidhma-* white spot, leprous spot, but it is more likely that the Sanskrit word is derived from the Dravidian.

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1 Ta. *uṭai* garment according to this etymology represents **cuṭai*, and with the usual changes would have appeared in some areas of Dravidian as **soḍe*. This could be the origin of Skt. *śāṭa (ka-)*, etc. Since Skt. has no short *-o-* it has to choose some other sound to represent it in Dravidian words. Here it is *-ā-*, more commonly *-a-*. Skt. *śāṭa* is then borrowed into Dravidian: Ta. *āṭai*, etc.

Ta. *uval* twigs and sprays; dried leaves, *uvalai* id. : Ka. *toval* young green leaves, Ma. *tōl* green leaves, small branches, Te. *cuvaka*, *cuvva* twig; with strong grade of the intervocalic consonant :— Ta. *cuppal* a dry twig, *cuppi* id., Ma. *cappu* leaves, Ka. *toppala*, *tappala* all green leaves of plants in general, *soppu* foliage, vegetable, herb, greens, *sappu* id., Tu. *coppu*, *tappu*, *soppu* leaf, foliage, greens, *tappoliyuni* to be covered with foliage; cf. Skt. *śaṣpa-* young or sprouting grass (lw. < Dr.).

Ta. Ma. Ka. *uruḷ* to roll, revolve, spin; to become round, globular: Ta. Ma. *curuḷ* to be coiled, rolled up, curled, Ka. *suruḷ*, Go. *suruṇḍānā* to go round and round.

Te. *ulaka* light, easy: also *culaka*, Ka. *culuku* id.

Ta. *ulavu*, *ulāvu* to move or walk about, take a stroll; to surround, encircle as a garment, Ma. *ulāvuka* to take a walk; *ilāvuka* id. : Ta. *culavu* to revolve, move round, hover about, to surround, encircle, *culāvu* id.

Ta. *ulai* fireplace, forge, furnace, Ma. *ula*, Ka. *ole* id.: Kui *soḍu*, Kuvi *hollu* fireplace; cf. Ta. *cuḷḷai* potter's kiln, furnace, *cūḷai* id., Ma. *cuḷḷa*, *cūḷa*; cf. Skt.(lw.) *culli* fireplace.

Ta. *uṟal* to whirl, revolve, roam about, *uṟi*, *uṟi-taru* to wander about, move to and fro, Ma. *uṟaluka* to roam about: Ta. *cuṟal* to whirl, spin, rotate, *cuṟi* id., Ma. *cuṟaluka*, *cuṟi-yuka* to revolve, Ka. *suṟi*, *tuṟi*, *toṟal* to revolve, turn round.

Ta. Ma. *uḷukku* to be sprained, a sprain, Tu. *uḷku*, Ka. *uḷuku*, *uluku*, *iluku*: Ta. Ma. *cuḷukku* id.

Ta. *ūkam* broomstick grass, *ūkai* id.: Ta. *cīku*, *ciṟku* broom grass, *cīkam pul* id.; cf. Hi. *sīk* the culm of the grass of which brooms are made (lw. < Dr.).

Ta. *ūmpu* to suck, Ma. *ūmpuka*, *īmpuka* id.: Ta. *cūppu*, *cūmpu* to suck, fondle with the lips, *cīppu* id., Ka. *cīpu*, *sīpu* id., Tu. *jumbuni* to suck, sip, lick, Kui *jūpa*, *jūmpa* to suck.

Tu. *ūmbè* a hole: Tu. *sumbè* a small hole in the wall, *tūbe* a hole.

Ta. *ūr* time, turn, occasion; age, lifetime: Ka. *sūr* time, turn, occasion; cf. Ta. *cūṟ* to revolve, go round, etc., whence also Ta. *ūṟ* to think (to turn over in the mind).

Ta, *ey* porcupine, Ma. *eyyan*, Tu. *eyipañji*, Ka. *ey*, *ēdu*, Te. *ēdupandi*: Go. *sōī* porcupine, Kuvi *sahi* id.; cf. Skt. *sedhā* porcupine, which Kittel (no. 79) followed by J. Bloch (*BSOS.*, V, 740) derives from Dravidian. Sanskrit has also *śvāvidh*– ("dog–piercing", AV.), which looks like a popular etymology based on the originally Dravidian word. Compare also Sinh. *ittä* porcupine, and further NPers. *cīzū*, *cīzak* id., which, since *c*- and *s*– are interchangeable in Dravidian, could be derived from the same source.

Ta. *ēr* plough, yoke of oxen, Ma. *ēr* id., Ka. *ār*, *ēru* a pair of oxen yoked to the plough, Te. *ēru* a plough with the draught-oxen made ready for ploughing: Ta. *cēr* (dial) id., Go. *sēr* a plough, Kui *sēru* a yoke of oxen, a pair, two of oxen for ploughing, *sēreka* two, a pair; cf. Ta. *cēr* to join with, become united, etc., Ma. *cēruka* to approach, come close to, join, fit or suit, Ka. *sēr* to come near, approach, join, meet, Tu. *śēruni*, Te. *cēru* id. The verb has almost universally preserved its initial consonant in South Dravidian, in contradistinction to the noun, but Tamil has *ēr* to be similar, no doubt from *cēr*.[1]

1. These Dravidian words are reminiscent of Skt. ṚV., etc., *sīra*– n. plough. J. Bloch (*BSOS.*, VIII, 414) draws attention to this, but decides against a derivation from the Dravidian of the Skt. word in favour of an IE. etymology (**sēi* to sow). In favour of a Dravidian origin is the frequent use of *yuj*– to join with *sīra*– (*yunakta sīrā* ṚV., x, 101, 3, *ṣaḍyogam sīram* AV., viii, 9, 16, etc.), since Dravidian *ēr*, *sēr* has just the meaning and etymology which suits these contexts.

Tu. *oṇṭa* hip, waist. loins: Tu. *soṇṭa* id:, Ka. *soṇṭa* hip, loins, waist.

Ta· *olku* to grow weak or faint, to be disheartened, to become reduced, to be injured, etc., *ulai* to be upset, to be ruined, perish, to be defeated, Te. *ollābōvu* to faint, grow pale, fade: Ta. Ma. *tōl* to be defeated, Ta. *tolai* to perish, be exhausted, be defeated, Ka. *sōl* to be defeated, Tu. *sōl, tōl* id, Ka. *tolagu* to yield, fail, retire, Tu. *tolaguni*, Te. *tolāgu* id.

Te. *olucu* to peel off: Ta. *coli* to strip off, peel off, *toli* id., (sb.) skin, rind, husk, Ma. *toli* skin, bark, peel, rind, *tolikka* to skin, peel, Ka. *suli* to skin, peel, strip, Tu. *sulipuni, tulipuni* id., Malt. *cale* rind, peel, *cōlye* to skin, to strip off the bark from a tree.

Ta. *ōppu* to drivc away: Ka. *sō, sōpu*, Te. *cōpu* id., cf. Parji *cōttēd* sent, drove.

Ta. *ōṭu* to run, Ma. *ōṭuka*, Te. Ka. *ōḍu*, Tu. *ōḍuni* id.: cf. Go. *sōḍītānā*, *jōḍītānā* to run away.

Ta. *ai, aintu* five, Ma. *ai, añcu*, Ka. *ay, aydu*, Tu. *ai, ainu*, Te. *ayidu, ēguru, ēvuru*, Kolami *aid*: Go. *saiyūng*, Parji *sēvir*, Kui *singi* (*LSI.*, iv, 460; not in Winfield).

Ta. Ma. Ka. *āṟu, aṟu* six, Tu. *āji*, Te. *āṟu*: Go. *sārūng*, Parji *sējēn*, Kui *sajgi*.

In the examples quoted above as instances of the loss of initial *c–/s–*, there are to be found some examples where *c–/s–* has developed into *t–*. These are: Tu. *taṇilu̥* squirrel: Tu. *caṇilu̥*, Ta. *aṇil*; Go. *tarās* snake: Kui *srāsu*, Ta. *aravu*; Te. *tāmbēlu* tortoise: Kui *sēmbi*, Ta. *āmai, yāmai*; Ta, *timil*

The fact that Skt. *lāṅgala* has been borrowed from Dravidian (*BSOAS.*, XI, 131 and 603) also favours this view. The main difficulty is vowel (Skt. *ī*: Dr. *ē*), as Bloch says. Such a change does indeed occur in Brahui (*k̲h̲īsum* red: Kur. *khēso*), but there is no reason to believe that this is ancient.

hump: Ta. *cimiṟ*, *imil*; Tu. *tīru* nit: Ka. *sīr* Ta. *īr*; Ta. *tutti* spots: Tu. *ciṭṭi*, Ta. *utti*; Ka. *toval*, *toppala*, etc.; green leaves: Ta. *cuppal*, *uval*, etc.; Ta. *tuṟiñcil* sirissa: Ka. *sirsala*, Ta. *ucil*, *uṟiñcil* id.; Tu. *tūbė* a hole: Tu. *sumbè*, *ūmbè* id. The development of *t*– out of original *c*–/*s*– is very common in Dravidian, and it is hoped to treat it fully in a future article. For the present it is sufficient to draw attention to the above examples and also to apply the principle to the following instances in which forms of words in South Dravidian with initial *t*– exist side by side with forms in which the initial consonant has been lost:—

Ta. *aṟal* to burn, glow, shine; (sb.) fire, flame, heat, Ma. *aṟal* heat, fire, *aṟaluka* to burn as a wound, the eye from pepper; to burn from grief, *aṟalca* excessive heat, inflammation, Ka. *aṟal* to grieve, be afflicted, Tu. *arluni* to burn, blaze; to smart, *arate*, *arade* heat, burning, impetuosity, Te. *aḍalu* to grieve: Ta. *taṟal* to glow, to be very hot, to shine; (sb.) fire, live coals, embers, *taṇal* live coals, embers, fire, Ka. *taṇalu* glowing coals.

Ta. *iṟu* to pay as a tax or debt, *iṟai* tribute, taxes, Ma. *iṟa* tax: Ta. *tiṟai* tax, tribute, *teṟu-poruḷ* id., Ma. *tiṟa*, tax, Ka. *teṟa*, *teṟavu* the price paid for a wife, *teṟu* to pay, *teṟige* tribute tax, Tu. *terige* id. (lw. < Ka.).

Ta. *uyaṅku* to suffer, be in distress, *uyavu* to suffer; (sb.) trouble, suffering: Ta. *tuyaṅku* to be exhausted, faint, *tuyakku* fatigue, loss of strength or courage; sorrow, grief, *tuyar* grief, sorrow; to grieve, *tuyaram* sorrow, grief, *tuyavu* mental distraction, perturbation; cf. Ta. *cōr* to languish, droop, faint.

Ta. *uyal* to wave, shake, Tu. *oyaluni* to reel, stagger: Ta. *tuyal* to sway, swing, hang, Tu. *tūluni* to totter, reel; cf. Ka.

jōl to hang, swing, droop, be downcast: Te. *sōlu* to reel stagger, swoon | >Skt. *dolā* a swing.

Te. *ũgu* to swing, rock, totter, etc.: Te. *tũgu* to hang, swing, rock, reel, Ta. *tūṅku* to hang, swing, sway, Ma. *tuṅṅu*, Ka. *tūgu*.

Ta. *uvaḷ* to quake, quiver: Ta. *tuvaḷ* to quiver, tremble; to be flexible, supple, etc.

Ta. *uruvu* to pierce, penetrate: Ta. *turuvu* to bore, perforate; sb. a hole, Ka. *turuvu* to hollow, bore, drill, Kui *trūva* to be pierced, *trupka* to bore or pierce.

In these cases it is to be assumed that the initlal *t-* stands for original *c-* / *s-*which has been lost in the alternative forms, just as in the examples quoted previously; e.g. **suyaḷ*/**cuyal*> alternatively *uyal* or *tuyal*. Since there is no evidenee that original *t-* ever disappears, the existence of these forms without initial consonant is an indication that *t-* in these words has developed out of *c-* / *s-*. The same rule can be applied to words where comparisons with Sanskrit are available:

Ta. *unti* navel; belly, stomach; body of a *yāṟ*, Ma. *unti* navel : Skt. *tunda-*, *tundī* a protuberant belly, a navel.

Ta. Ma. Ka. *eḷ* Sesamum Indicum : Skt. *tila-* id.

These forms can be united on the assumption that in South Dravidian an initial sibilant or affricate, as is so frequently the case, has been lost, and that the Sanskrit words have been borrowed from Dravidian. Thus an original **sundi* or **cundi* would quite regularly appear as *unti* in Tamil and Malayalam, while the variant dialectal development **tundi* is of the type well attested in Dravidian, and illustrated in the examples given above. Likewise the original form of the

word for "sesamum" would be *seḷ or *ceḷ, whence in South Dravidian eḷ, alternatively *teḷ, which must be presumed to be the origin of the Sanskrit word. The word is probably connected etymologically with Ka. *teḷ* thin, fine, minute, small, the sesamum being so called on account of the smallness of its seeds. A similar case is to be found in the Telugu word for "sesamum" *nuvvu*, pl. *nuvvulu*. This is likewise connected with words meaning small, fine: Ta. *no* small, fine, thin, slender, *novvu* to become thin, *noy* smallness, minuteness; grits, oats, Ma. *noccu* minute, light, *noy* grit, groats; what is minute.

With these words the examples for the loss of initial *c-/s-* in South Dravidian are concluded. Before discussing the matter further it is necessary to point out that not all words beginning with *c-/s-* have been affected by this change. It is in fact possible to produce a considerable list of words in which no such change has taken place in any part of the South Dravidian area, at least so far as can be gathered from the recorded documents. As examples of the preservation of initial *c-/s-* in all the languages concerned the following will suffice:—

Ta. *cari* suitability, propriety, Ka. *sari* fitness, rightness, similarity, Tu. *sari* equal, right, fit, proper, Te. *sari* equal, similar, fit, right.

Ta. *cā* to die, p.p. *cettu* having died, Ma. *cā*, *cattu*, Ka. *sāy*, *sattu*, Tu. *saipini* to die, *sāvu* death, Te. *caccu* to die, *cāvu* death, Kui *sāva* to die, Kuvi *hā-*; *hāki* death, Go. *saiyānā*, *sāyānā*, Parji *cāmam* I die, Kolami *tik-hātan*, *tik-sātaṉ* I die | >Skt. *śava-*, Pa. *chava-* a corpse; cf. Kur. *khe'ena* to die,

keccas he died, *khīū* mortal, Malt. *keye* to die, 3rd pret. *keca* Brah. *kahing* to die.[1]

Ta. *cāttu* to daub, smear, anoint, *cāntu* pigment, paste; sandal-paste; sandal-tree, *cāntam* sandal, Ma. *cāntu* a kind of oinment or paste of sandal, etc., Ka. *sādu* a fragrant substance, perfume, Tu. *sādike* smearing, Te. *cā̃du* to rub into a paste | >Skt. *candana-* sandal-tree, -wood, -powder, -ointment.

Ta. *cāl* furrow, Ma. *cāl* furrow; channel, track; line, direction, Ka. *sāl* a continuous line, row, furrow, Tu. *sālu̥* line, row, furrow, Te. *cālu* line, row, furrow, groove, track.

Ta. *cāṟu* juice, sap; toddy; water in which aromatic substances are infused; pepper-water, *cēṟu* sap, juice; toddy, honey, treacle; kernel, as of a cocoanut; pus, Ma. *cāṟu* sap as of a palm tree; infusion, decoction; broth or soup, Ka. *cāṟu* sap, juice; broth, *sāṟu* a relish in a liquid state, well seasoned sauce, broth, pepper-water, Tu. *sāru̥* sap; soup, broth, *cāru̥* a kind of pepper water, Te. *cēru* tamarind soup or broth.

Ta. *cāṟṟu* to proclaim, publish, Ma. *cāṟṟu* id., Ka. *sāṟu* to cry out, to proclaim aloud, to publish, Tu. *sāriyuni* to proclaim, publish, preach, Te. *cāṭu* to proclaim, declare, announce, publish.

Ta. *cintu* to spill, Ma. *cinnuka*, *cintuka*, Te. *cindu*, T. *cindu* to be spilt or shed, to run out of a vessel, Malt. *tunde* to spill, *tundgre* to be spilled, Kur. *tundnā* id.

1 This is one of the few examples where the Northern Dravidian languages (Kuru<u>kh</u>, Malto; Brahui) preserve an original guttural in contradistinction to the Central and Southern languages (with affricate or sibilant). The discussion of this phenomenon must be reserved for a future occasion. This special origin of *c-*/*s-* in a certain number of words does not seem materially to affect their treatment in the South Dravidian languages.

Ta. *cilanti* a spider, *cilampi* id., Ma. *cilanni*, Ka. *seladi*, Te. *celādi* id.

Ta. *cī*, *ciy* to sweep, wipe, Ma. *cīka* to comb, scrape, smooth, polish, *cīttal* sweepings, Ka. *cīpari* a broom, Tu. *sīṇṭuni* to scrape, rub, wipe, Te. *cīkili* a broom, *cīpuru* id., Kui *sēpa* to sweep, Kuvi *hēpinai* id., Go. *saiyānā* to sweep (Trench; in another dialect *hēyānā*, Patwardhan), Malt. *cīce* to wipe clean, *celaki* a broom, Kur. *cīcnā* to wipe.

Ta. *cura* to stream forth, *curai* streaming forth as milk from an udder, *cori* to pour forth, flow down, rain, Ma. *cura* giving milk, *curakka* milk to form or collect in the udder, to spring forth, gush out, *cori* to flow down, pour, shower, Ka. *sore* the milk collected in the udder, *tore* milk to form or collect in the udder, *suri* to flow down, pour down, *juri* to flow or ooze out plentifully, Koḍagu *tori* to flow out, Tu. *doriyuni* to flow down, run out, Te. *torāgu* to flow, gush, run, Kui *sṛāngu* breast, *jrāmbu* udder, Kur. *curkhnā* to pour, ooze, leak, *jorō* leaking, Malt. *curge* to ooze out, fall in drops, Brah. *curring* to flow.

Ta. *curā*, *curāvu* shark, Ma. *curā*, *cirāku*, *turāvu*, *śrāvu* id., Ka. *cora*, Te. *cora*, *sora* id.

Ta. *cūl* pregnancy, Ma. *cūl*, Ka. *cūl*, *sūlu*, Te. *cūlu*, *cūli* id.

Ta. *cūḷ* oath, to swear, *cūḷuru* to swear, Ma. *curaruka* to swear, Ka. *sūruḷ* an oath, to swear, Tu. *sūlu* swearing.

Ta. *cerukku* to be proud, vain; exult; be infatuated, Ka. *sorkku*, *sokku* to become mad, intoxicated, infatuated, arrogant, etc., Tu. *sorkụ* fat, vigour; rankness, luxuriance; lust; pride, *sorkuni* to become fat, vigorous, proud, insolent, *sorkelu* lust, rutting as of an animal, *sorkeluni* to be in rut, Te. *cokku* ecstasy, trance, etc.

Ta. *cel* to go, pass, depart, Ma. *celka*, Ka. *sal*, Tu. *sanduni*, Te. *cellu*, *canu*, Kui *salba*, Kuvi *hajjali* (impv. *hallamū*) id.

Ta. *cērai*, *cēraṅ-kai* quantity that can be held in the hollow of the hand, Ka. *sāre*, *sere*, *sēre* the palm of the hand bent so as to receive anything; a handful, Tu. *sere*, *sēre*, Te. *cēra* id.

In these examples and in others which could be added no trace can be found in any of the languages of loss of the initial consonant.

In treating of the initial consonant which forms the subject of this article *c*– and *s*– have been treated as equivalent and alternative sounds, and it has already been pointed out that there is no evidence to show that original Dravidian possessed an *s*– side by side with *c*–. It is necessary to confirm this by an examination of the distribution of the two sounds in the existing languages.

In the Southern group Tamil has only *c*- and no *s*–. This was originally an affricate corresponding to Sanskrit *c*–, but is nowadays a kind of sibilant most nearly corresponding to Sanskrit *ś*–, and it is often transliterated so. Malayalam, like Tamil, has only *c*– and has preserved the affricate pronunciation. Kanarese has both *c*– and *s*–, but the latter is the more common. Frequently both occur in the same word, e.g. *cavuḷu*, *savuḷu* brackishness, *caḷi*, *saḷi* cold, *caḷḷu*, *ceḷḷu*, *seḷḷu* a long flexible rod or twig, *cāpe*, *sāpe* a mat, *cāṟu*, *sāṟu* sap, juice, broth, *cippu*, *sippu* an oyster-shell, *cīpu*, *sīpu* to suck, *coṭṭa*, *soṭṭa* crookedness. This suggests that the occurrence of the two sounds together in Kanarese is due to dialectal differences, and does not represent a similar dichotomy in the parent language. Telugu also has both *c*- and *s*–, but whereas

in Kanarese *s* is the usual treatment and *c–* the more uncommon one, in Telugu *c–* is the usual and *s-* the exceptional treatment. Tuḷu like Kanarese has both *c–* and *s–*, and they frequently alternate in the same word. The latter sound develops to *ś-* when followed by *–ĭ–* or *-ĕ–*.

Among the Central group Gondi, Kolami, and Kui have regularly *s–*, which in some dialects of Gondi and in Kuvi, the sister dialect to Kui, has developed into *h–*. Parji only in this group shows regularly *c–*. The Northern languages (Kuru<u>kh</u>, Malto, Brahui) have both *c–* and *s–*, but reliable etymologies from Dravidian are only to be found among the words beginning with *c–* which is therefore to be regarded as the regular treatment.

From these facts it becomes clear that we cannot speak of an *s–* which has disappeared in South Dravidian in contradistinction to *c–*. E. H. Tuttle's examples were all quoted from languages in which *s–* regularly corresponds to *c–* in other languages: e.g. Go. *sēr* plough: Ta. *ēr*, but Ta. also *cēr* to join, which cannot be separated from this word. Even if Primitive Dravidian did distinguish between an affricate and a sibilant, the distinction has not been preserved in any of the extant languages. Also it certainly did not affect the phonetic change involved in the loss of *c–/s–*, since in a language like Kanarese, which has both, they are both liable to be dropped: *anda*: *canda* just like *ir*: *sir*, etc. For all practical purposes therefore, from the point of view of this article *c-* and *s–* or simply to be regarded as variants of each other.

A survey of the material presented above discloses a complete absence of any regularity of treatment. On the one hand *c–/s–* is preserved in some words in all the languages in question. At the other extreme there are words in which the

initial consonant has been lost in all the Southern languages. In between these words we find a mass of words in which the initial has been lost in one or other of the South Dravidian languages while it is preserved in the rest. Further, double forms (Ta. *ippi* : *cippi*, Ka. *īr*, *sīr*, etc.) are to be found in each of the individual languages. Obviously it is not possible to reduce all these facts to any rigid rule. We can only establish that there is a tendency for this initial to be dropped; that this tendency is confined to the Southern Dravidian languages and is one of the features that distinguishes them from the Central and Northern Groups[1]; and that among the Southern Dravidian languages the tendency is strongest in Tamil, particularly in the classical dialect of that language (see the examples).

We have, in fact, to do with a partial or incomplete sound-change. A good parallel can be found in Sinhalese, where a similar state of affairs prevails in the case of similar sound-changes that have taken place in that language. Here we find[2] a development of *s* to *h*, which may eventually be dropped altogether, but the newer forms never completely succeeded in ousting the old, so that we often find a variety of forms side by side: e g. *sas, has, as* crop of corn: Skt.*sasya-*; *sim, him, im* boundary: Skt. *sīmā*; *sim̆bili, him̆bul, im̆bul* silk cotton: Pkt. *simbali–*; *sē, hē, ē* bridge: Skt. *sētu–*; *sō, hō, ō* river: Skt. *srotas–*; and so forth. Likewise, *c–* becomes *h–* through *s–*, though this very rarely disappears (*im̆binu, sim̆binu*

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1 The change of *s–* to *h–* in Kuvi and dialects of Gondi (Kuvi *hāru* salt, etc.; Go. (Maṛia dial,) *hovar* id.), and the occasional dropping of this *h–* (Go. Maṛ. *ovar* according to Lind) is a modern change of the same kind but independent of the earlier S. Dr. change.

2 W. Geiger, *Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, pp. 82 ff.

to kiss: Skt. *cumbati*). In Dravidian there is no intermediate stage *h*– recorded, though it is quite probable that it may have existed at one time. Otherwise the two cases are very similar in the manner in which the change has never been completely established.

Some indication of the date of these developments is to be found. In the first place as regards relative chronology it can be said quite definitely that the above changes had already taken place when the development of Dr. *k*– to *c*– before *ĕ*, *ĭ* took place in Tamil, Malayalam, and Telugu.[3] There is no single case of such a *c*– in these languages (e.g. Ta. *ce*– red, *cey* to do, *cēr* marking nut tree, Te. *cēyu* to do, etc.) being dropped. From which it is quite clear that the palatalization of *k*– in these languages took place at a time when the other process was already complete. As regards date contacts with Indo-aryan provide some useful indications. The proper name *Satiya-putra* : *Atiya-mā<u>n</u>* still preserves its *s*– in Aśoka's time, but has already lost it by the time of the earliest Tamil literary texts. This is not in itself necessarily conclusive, since in many words there are double forms, though that is less likely to be the case with a proper name. Confirmation, however, is forthcoming from the fact that, as shown earlier, the change has affected the earliest strata of loan-words from Indo-aryan. That is to say, these words must have already become current before the change began to operate, since they have been affected by it in the same way as native words. This is exactly in agreement with the conclusion suggested by the equation *Satiya-putra* : *Atiya-mā<u>n</u>*. From what is known of the history of Aryan expansion in India it is exceedingly unlikely that any

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3 Dravidian Studies III, *BSOAS*., Vol. XI (1943), pp. 122 ff.

IA. loan-words in Tamil could have been borrowed earlier than Maurya times. On the other hand the influence of that empire extended to the furthest corners of India, and it would not be rash to assume that it was in this period that the earliest loan-words found their way into Tamil and the neighbouring languages. It certainly cannot have been much later since the earliest Tamil texts are not generally put much later than the third century A.D., and between these two limits of time two successive sound-changes have taken place: (1) loss of initial *c*–/*s*– in a large number of words, and (2) palatalization of initial *k*– in Tamil, Malayalam, and Telugu before *ī* and *ĕ*. The assumption that the first change operated slightly before, and the second one somewhat later than the Christian era is in accordance with the available evidence. If, however, it were to be shown that the earliest Tamil literature was to be dated later than is now generally assumed, the chronology would have to be adjusted accordingly.

DRAVIDIAN STUDIES VII

FURTHER DRAVIDIAN WORDS IN SANSKRIT

In two recent articles in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* the problem of Dravidian words in Sanskrit has been discussed, and a considerable number of etymologies have been presented.[1] Roughly 170 Sanskrit words of Dravidian origin are dealt with in the two articles. There remains an even larger amount of material which has not been touched on in the above two articles, and the bulk of this is brought together in the list of etymologies proposed here. The present article contains 315 items, involving a larger number of words since several words may be treated together bringing the total number of Dravidian words in Sanskrit dealt with in the three articles to well over 500. This is a very considerable number, and shows that the extent of Dravidian influence on Sanskrit has always been underestimated rather than overestimated. It by no means exhausts the field, and another supplementary list will eventually be necessary. When the subject has been fully dealt with, it is unlikely that the total list of Dravidian words in Sanskrit will be less than 750, and it may well turn out to be considerably more.

The abbreviations are the same as in the two articles mentioned.[2] The treatment is as concise as possible, necessarily in view of the large amount of material involved. To a large

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1. "Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit", *TPS.*, 1945, pp. 77–120, and "Loanwords in Sanskrit," *TPS.*, 1946, pp. 1–30.

2. See in particular *TPS.*, 1946, p. 8.

extent the simple presentation of the material is demonstration enough. For the rest, in addition to the comments which are added from time to time, a general account of the principles followed is to be found in the second of the above-mentioned articles.

1. *akkā* f. mother, Comm. on P. 7.3. 107 (Voc. *akka*).

~Ta. *akkā*, *akkai*, *akkāḷ* elder sister, Ma. *ākka* id., Ka. *akka* id, Tu. *akka*, *akkè* an elder sister; an elderly woman, Te. *akka*, Kot. *ak* elder sister. Cf. also Mar. *akā* a respectful compellation for an elder sister or any elderly female. Cald., p. 567; Kitt., *IA*., i, p. 236; A. N. Upadhye, *ABORI*., xii (1931), p. 277. Kittel (*Kan. Dict.* s. v.) compares also Skt. *arka-* elder brother (Lex.). This meaning does not appear to be recorded in Drav.

2. *agasti-* m. *Agasti grandiflora*, Suśr., etc.

~Ta. *akatti*, *accam*, *acci* id., Ma. *akatti*, Ka. *akace*, *agace*, *agase*, Tu. *agase*, Te. *agise*, *avise* id. The Dravidian words have every appearance of being original. If the name of the Ṛṣi is derived from the name of the tree, as presumably it is, then this is one of the earliest loanwords.

3. *aguru-* m. fragrant aloe wood, *Aquilana agallocha* (also *agaru-*; Pa. *akalu*, *akaḷu*, *agaru*, *agalu*, *agaḷu*, *aggalu*, Sgh. *agil*, *ayal*].

~Ta. Ma. *akil*, Tu. *agilu̥* id. Gundert, *Malayalam Dict*. sv.; cf. *BSOAS*., XI, 131. The tree flourishes in the mountains of south-West India; cf. *Paṭṭiṉappālai* 188: *kuṭa malai piṟantav āramum akilum* "the sandal and aloes that are produced in the western mountains."

4. *aṅkura-* m. sprout, shoot, Rāmāyaṇa, etc.

~Ta. *akai* vb. to sprout, flourish, Ma. *aka* germ, bud, shoot, *akekka* to bud, Ka. *age* a seedling; a shoot from the root of a plant or tree, a sprout, Tu. *agge* the shoot of a branch, Kur. *akrārnā* to germinate, shoot, sprout. The loss of nasalization is common enough in Southern Dravidian. The suffix *-ura* in the Skt. word is perhaps to be accounted for by the influencc of another Drav. word meaning the same thing: Te. *iguru, ciguru* shoot, sprout, Ka. *igaru, cigur, cigī* id., Tu, *ciguruni* to sprout, etc. (*BSOAS.*, XII, 138).

5. *aṅkola-* m. *Alangium hexapetalum* [also *aṅkolla-, aṅkoṭa-, aṅkoṭha-*].

~Ta. *aṟiñcil*, Ma. *aṟiññil* id.: cf. *BSOAS*., XI, 131.

6. *attā* f. a mother, L.; mother's sister, L.; elder sister, L.; mother-in-law, L. [also *atti-, attikā* eldersister, L., *anti-, antikā* id., L., *artikā* id., L].

~Ta. *attai* father's sister; mother-in-law, Ka. *atte, atti* mother-in-law, Tu. *attė* a mother-in-law; an aunt, *attige* an elder brother's wife, Te. *atta* mother-in-law ; father's sister, maternal uncle's wife, Kuvi *atta* aunt, Go. *ātī* a father's sister.

7. *ambā* mother, VS., etc [also *ambāḍā, ambālā, ambālikā, ambi-, ambikā, ambayā*].

~Ta. *ammā* mother; matron, lady, *ammāḷ* id., Ma. *amma* mother, *ammāyi* maternal aunt, Ka. *amma, amba,* Te. *amma* mother, matron, Kuvi *amma* paternal aunt, Kui *ama* id., maternal uncle's wife; madam, Brah. *ammā* mother. The Dravidian feminine termination *-āḷ* (Ta. *ammāḷ*) appears in Skt. *ambāḍa, ambālā*.

8. *aravinda-* lotus, Śāk., etc.

~ Cf. Te. *araviri* a flower half-opened, Ka. *areviri* to half open (Ta. *arai* half, *viri* to bloom). The lotus is the flower which is open half the time Skt. °*vinda* is a contraction of the participial form which appears in Tamil as *virinta-* (compare the similar contraction in Te. *viccu* to open), cf. *BSOAS*., XI, 135 n.

9. *alaka-* m. n. lock, curl, Ragh., etc.

~Ta. *alaṅku* to dangle, shake, swing, *alaṅkal* wreath, waving ear of corn, Ka. *alaku, aluku, alagu, alugu* to move about, shake, *aḷaku, aḷuku, aḷku* id., Tu. *alaṅkuni, alaṅguni* to shake, be agitated. Kan. has *alaka, aḷaka, aḷake* meaning "lock" which Kittel derives from Skt., but they might be original in view of the verb. Ta. *aḷakam* lock, woman's hair, is found in the early literature (*Naṟṟ*° 377) which is an argument in favour of its being native.

10. *ālu-* m. ebony, black ebony, L. *āluka-* id, L.

~Ta. *ār* mountain ebony (*Bauhinia racemosa* and *B° tormentosa*), *āram, ārai* id., Ka. *āre Bauhinia racemosa*, Te. *āre Bauhinia spicata* and *B° tormentosa*. In Skt, there is *l* for *r* as in other cases: the *-u* is the Drav. euphonic -u which appears widely after original final consonants. This *ār* also appears in *kañcanāra-* mountain ebony; also in *kudāra-* mountain ebony, with the variant forms *kudāla-, kuddala-, kuddāla-*. The first element of this latter word is the Drav. word for mountain : Ta. *kuṉṟu*, etc.

11. *iñcaka-* shrimp, prawn, *Kāśyapa Saṃh*., p. 335, *iñcāka-* id., L.

~Ta. *iṟavu* prawn, shrimp, *iṟā, iṟāl* id., Malt. *icha* shrimp, South Drav. *-ṟ-* develops out of an original affricate or sibilant (cf. *BSOAS*., XI, 346). Alternatively *ṭṭ* may represent an original affricate, and this appears in Tu. *eṭṭi* prawn.

12. *utkūṭa-* m. an umbrella or parasol, L.

~The °*kūṭa* in this word is not to be identified with any of the homonyms *kūṭa* listed in *TPS.*, 1945, pp. 92-6, but can be equated with the common South Drav. word for "umbrella": Ta. *kuṭai*, Ma. *kuṭa*, Ka. Tu. *koḍe*, Te. *goḍugu*.

13. *ulapa-* m. bush, shrub; a kind of soft grass; a creeper, creeping plant, RV., etc.

~Ta. *ulavai* green twig with leaves on it; branch of a tree; grove; n. of various shrubs.

14. *ulupin-* m. a porpoise [also *ulūpin-*, *ulapin-*].

~Ka. *uṇaci*, Te. *ulaca*, *uluca*, *ulasa*. The Skt. and Drav. words have different suffixes. Skt. has also *culumpin-* m. porpoise, and with different suffix *culukin-* m., *cullakī* f. id. This is another instance of the loss of initial *c/s* in South Drav. discussed in "Dravidian Studies, VI", *BSOAS.*, XII, 132–147.

15. *kaṅkaṭa-* an iron hook used as an elephant goad, L. [also *karkaṭaka-* hook, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 274].

~Cf. Ka. *kokke* crook, hook, *koṅki* hook, fish hook, *koṅku* to be crooked, Tu. *koṅke* hook; crooked, *kokke* hook, clasp, Te. *koṅkara* crookedness, *koṅki* hook.

16. *kacaka-* m. a kind of mushroom, Nigh.

~Ka. *kesavu* a mushroom.

17. *kacu-* f. *Arum colocasia* or *Colocasia antiquorum* [also *kacvī* f. *kecuka-*, °*ā*, m.f. *kemuka-*, *kevuka-* m. id.].

~Ta. Ma. *cēmpu Colocasia antiquorum*, Tu. *cēvu*, *tēvu*, *Te. cēma*, Ka. *kesu*, *kesa*, *kesavu*, *kēsu*, *kēsave* id.—Kitt., No. 94; cf. *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 125.

18. *kaccara-* m.f.n. dirty, foul, spoiled by dirt; wicked, L. [Cf. also *kaśambukajāta-* impure, dirty, Mahāvy°; Pa. *kacavara-* sweepings, dust, rubbish, *kasambu* rubbish, filth, Pkt. *kaccavāra-* dirt, rubbish, *kasaṭṭa-* id.; Nep. *kacar* rubbish, *kasiṅar* dirt, rubbish, Sgh. *kasaḷa* dirt, refuse; Dam. *khača* dirty, Phaḷ *khāču*, etc., etc.]

~Ka. *kasa* rubbish, offscourings, *kasaru* dust and other impurities, Tu. *kajavu*, *kajāvu* rubbish, sweepings, *kusa* sweepings, *gajalu̥* filthy, foul. Te. *kasaṭu* impurity, dirt, *kasavu* sweepings, Ta. *kacaṭu* uncleanness, dirtiness; blemish, fault; dregs.

19. *kacchū* f. itch, scab [also *kharjū* f. id., Pa. *kacchu-*, Pkt. *kacchu-*, *khajjū* f. id.; Hi. *khāj*, etc.; cf. further Skt. *khasa-* m. itch, scab].

~Ka. *kajji* scab, itch, *gajji* id., Te. *gajji* itch, scabies, Kui *kasa* the itch, Go. *kach* (*baittānā*) of white skin to form on the edge of a boil, Kur. *k̲hasrā* the itch.—Kitt., No. 325: both he and Bloch (*BSOS.*, V, 741) compare Ka. *karcu* to bite, etc., which, however, is better kept apart (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI (1944), p. 353).

20. *kaṭa-* [1] m. agreement, L.

~Ta. *kaṭṭu* to tie; sb. a bond, etc.

21. *kaṭa-* [2] m. a hearse or any vehicle for carrying a dead body; a burning ground or place of sepulture; a corpse [cf. *kaṭasī* cemetery].

~Ta. *kaṭṭai* funeral pyre; body, corpse, Ka. *kaḍugu* a headless corpse.

22. *kaṭa-* [3] the temples of an elephant, Ragh. [also *kaṭāha-* m. id., Śiś.].

~Ta. *kaṭām* orifice in an elephant's temple from which must flows; secretion of a must elephant, PuN., etc. A shortened form of the word which also appears as *karaṭa–* q.v.

23. *kaṭa–* [4] m. grass, L. [also *khaṭa–*, *khaḍa–* id.; Hi. *khaṛh*, *khar* straw, Nep. *khar*, etc.].

~Te. *gaḍḍi* grass, straw, hay, Go. *kāṭā* in *pūrāl-kāṭā* a kind of thin, poor grass.

24. *kaṭaka–* [1] m. string; bracelet; zone; link of a chain, etc.

~Ta. *kaṭṭu* to tie, fasten; sb band, tie, *kaṭṭu vaṭam* necklace of beads, anklet, *kaṭai* clasp, fastening of a neck ornament, Ka. Te. *kaṭṭu* to tie; a band, tie, Tu. *kaṭṭāṇi* necklace, etc. Kitt., No. 255.

25. *kaṭaka–* [2] m. the side or ridge of a hill or mountain, Ragh., etc. [Pkt. *kaḍaga–* id.; later replaced by a fresh borrowing: Skt. Pkt. *ghaṭṭa–* landing-place, Mar. *ghāṭ* mountain–range, pass; quay, wharf, etc.].

~Ta. *kaṭṭu* side of a mountain; dam, ridge, causeway, Ka. *kaṭṭu* dam, *kaṭṭe* dam, embankment, causeway, *gaṭṭa* mountain range, *gaṭṭu* a bank or shore; dam or mound, Te. *kaṭṭa* a dam, embankment; *gaṭṭu* hill, bank, shore, a dam or mound of earth.

26. *kaṭaka–* [3] a royal camp; army, Kathās°, etc.

~Cf. Ta. *kaṭṭ ūr* camp, Pat. P. 68, 2, etc.

27. *kaṭāha–* a young female buffalo whose horns are just appearing, L.

~Ma. *kaṭacci* heifer, Ka. *kaḍasu* a young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved, Ta. *kaṭāri*, *kiṭāri* heifer, Tu. *gaḍasu* id.

28. *kaṭi-* f. long pepper, L.

~Ta. *kaṟi* pepper; curry, Ma. Ka. *kaṟi* curry. For Skt. *-ṭ-* corresponding to South Drav. *-ṟ-*, cf. *paṭaha-*.

29. *kaṭhina-* m.f.n. hard, firm, stiff. [Cf. also *kaṭhara-*, *kaṭhura-*, *kaṭhora-* hard; *kaḍḍ-* to be hard, severe, DhP.; Nep. *kaṛā* hard, rough.]

~Ta. *kaṭṭi* anything hardened, coagulated, *kaṭṭu* to harden, coagulate; (sb.) strength, firmness, Ka. *kaḍugu* to become hard or solid, *gaṭṭi* firmness, hardness, *gaḍacu*, *gaḍasu* firmness, hardness; severity, Tu. *gaṭṭi* firm, hard, *gaḍusu* id., Te. *kaṭṭīḍi* cruel, hard-hearted, *gaṭṭi* hard, firm, *gaḍusu* hard, shrewd, *gaḍḍu* hard, difficult.

30. *kaḍ-* to be intoxicated, DhP. [cf. also *kaḍaṅga-* spirituous liquor, L., *kaṇḍ-* to be glad or wanton, *kalyā* f. spirituous liquor, *kalukka-* tavern, L., *halā*, *hālā* spirituous liquor, Pkt. *kallā* id., *kallāla-* a distiller of spirits; Hi. *kalār* id.].

~Ta. Ma. Ka. *kaḷ* toddy, intoxicating liquor, Tu. *kali*, Te. *kallu*, Kui *kalu*, Go. *kal* id., Ta. *kaḷi* to be intoxicated.

31. *kaṇaja-* m. a certain weight, Hemādri.

~Ta, *kaṟañcu* a weight (in mod. times = $\frac{1}{6}$ oz. troy), Ma. *kaṟañcu* a drachm, Ka. *kaṇañju*, *kaṇaju* a weight.

32. *kaṇaya-* m. a kind of spear or lance (often written *kaṇapa-*; Pa. *kaṇaya-* id.; Skt. also *kaṇaca-*, Hem. Un. 114).

~Ta. *kaṇai* arrow; handle, pole, *kaṇaiyam* club; post; crowbar, *kaṇicci* pick-axe, battle-axe, goad, Ma. *kaṇa* bamboo branch; handle; arrow, Ka. *kaṇe* stick, arrow, Tu. *kaṇè* a slender bamboo branch; the quill of a porcupine, *gaṇè* pole, staff, arrow, GoM. (Lind.) *kaṇī* arrow.

The MSS. read indifferently *kaṇaya–* and *kaṇapa–*. The first is shown to be correct by Pa. *kaṇaya–*, Skt. *kaṇaca*, and the Drav. words. The reading *kaṇapa-* may be due partly to the influence of *kuṇapa–* q. v.

33. *kaṇṭha–* m, neck, throat. MBh., etc. (*sahakaṇṭhikā* AV.).

~Ta. Ma. *kaṟuttu* neck, Ka. *kaṟtu*, *kattu* id., Bad. *gṟattu*; Ka. *gaṇṭalu* throat, Tu. *kaṇṭelu* id. ; Te. *gontu* throat: cf. Brah. *guṭ* id., *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 133. With the voiced forms in Drav. compare Nep. *ghā̃ṭi* throat, etc.

34. *kaṇḍū* f. itch; scratching, etc. (*Nep.D.* s.v. *kanyāunu*).

~Ta. *karaṇṭu* to scrape, *curaṇṭu* to scratch, scrape, Ma. *karaṇṭuka–* to scrape, *ciraṇṭu*, *curaṇṭu* to scratch, Ka. *keraṇṭu* to dig with the nails, scratch, Tu. *kereñcuni* to scratch the ground (fowls). In Skt. *kaṇḍū* an *-r–* has been lost by assimilation; a longer form appears in Mar. *kharaḍnẽ* to scratch (*BSOAS.*, XI, 122).

35. *kadamba–* m. *Nauclea cadamba* MBh., etc. [also *kalamba–*, L., Pkt. *kayamba-*, *kalamba–*].

~Ta. *kaṭampu Nauklea cadamba*, PuN , AN., etc., Ma. *kaṭampu*, Ka. *kaḍamba*, *kaḍava*, *kaḍval*, *kaḍaha*, Te. *kaḍāmi*, *kaḍimi* id.

36. *kanala-* m.f.n. shining, bright, GaṇP.

~Ta. *kaṉal* to be hot, glow, *kañal* to shine forth, *kāṉal* heat, sun's ray, Ma. *kānal* live coals, fire, Te. *kanakana* the glow of fire, *kanakanamanu* to glow, shine. Skt. *kan–* to shine, DhP., appears to be derived from this Drav. root, and another derivative is very likely *kanaka–* gold, MBh. Cf. also *kandala-* gold, L.

37. *kanda-* m.n. a bulbous root.

~Ma. *kaṇṭa* bulbous root, Tu. *kaṇḍe* id., Ka. *gaḍḍe* a bulbous root; a lump, *gaṇṭe, geḍḍe, geṇḍe* id., Te. *gaḍḍa* id. T he various forms are due to assimilation of *-r-*, with cereb ralization in South Drav. without cerebralization in the form that appears in Skt. Cf. *gaṇḍa-*.

38. *kanduka-* m. ball, MBh. ctc. [also *geṇḍu-, geṇḍuka-, genduka-*, L. Pa. *geṇḍuka-*, Pkt. *gendua-*, Nep. *gẽd*, etc.].

~Ta. Ma. *ceṇṭu* ball, Ka. *ceṇḍu, caṇḍu*, Tu *ceṇḍu*, Te-*ceṇḍu* id. (<**keṇḍu*). Assimilated *-r-* as in last example. Kitt., No. 280.

39. *kaparda-* m. a small shell or cowrie; braided and knotted hair, RV., etc. (Pkt. *kavaḍḍa, kavaḍḍiā*; Hi. *kauṛī*, Panj. *kauḍ*, Si. *koḏu*).

~Ta. *kōṭu* crookedness, flexure; shell, chank; coil of hair. Ta. *kōṭu*<**kavaṭu*<**kapaṭu*<**kapar-t/d-* has already in the earliest form of the language altered as much from the original form of the word as Mod. IA. from the Skt. form. Sanskrit here has preserved a Drav. word in an exceedingly ancient form.

40. *kapaṭa-* deceit. MBh., etc.

~Ta. *kōṭu* crookedness. Here Sanskrit preserves an intermediate form postulated above in the history of Ta. *kōṭu*. The "modern" Drav. form appears in *kūṭa-* fraud (*TPS*.. 1945, p. 94).

41. *kamala-* m.n. lotus, Suśr., etc. (*Nep.D.* s.v. *kamal*).

~A phonetic variant of *kuvalaya-* id. (*TPS*., 1946, p. 9). Ta. *kuvaḷai* lotus, Ka. *kōmaḷe, kōvaḷ, kōḷe* id. Cf. also with metathesis Ka. *kalave*. Te. *kalava-* id. (cf. Pkt. *kalima-* id.). The Skt. Lexx. provide also the forms *kavāra-* and *kavela-*.

42. *kambū-* a kind of inferior grain, Hem. Uṇ 847 (= *kuruvinda-*).

~Ta. *kambu* bulrush millet, Ma. *kamp-ari Holcus spicatus*, Te. Ka. *kambu* id.

43. *karaca-* m. a measure of grain, Hem. Uṇ. 114.

~Ta. *karicai* a measure of capacity, Ka. *garase*, Te. *garise* id. Cf. also Pa. *karīsa-* (Stede s.v.).

44. *karaṭa-*[1] m. elephant's temple; the spot between the forehead and ear of a bird.

~Tu. *ceraḍu* ear < **keraḍu*, *BSOAS.*, XI, 125, 335. Cf. also *kaṭa-*[3].

45. *karaṭa-*[2] m. a kind of drum, Comm. on Var.Bṛ S. (Pkt. *karaḍa-*, *karaḍā*, *karaḍī* "vādya-viśeṣa")

~Ta. *karaṭi*, *karaṭikai*, *karaṭip paṟai* a kind of drum (acc. to Comm. on *Cilap°*. 3, 27, so called because it sounds like a bear, *karaṭi*), Ka. *karaḍi*, *karaḍe* a kind of drum.

46. *karaṭa-*[3] a low, unruly, difficult person (cf. *karaṭā* a cow difficult to be milked, Pkt. *karaṭṭa* a Brahman who eats impure food, *karaḍa-* hard; atheist, unbeliever, Mar. *karḍā* hard, rude, savage).

~Ta. Ma. *karaṭu* rough, Ka. *karaḍu* rough; useless, wicked, Te. *karaṭi* stubborn, brutish, villainous.

47. *karavīra-* m. Oleander, *Nerium odorum*, MBh., etc. (Pa. *karavīra*, *kaṇavīra-*, *kaṇavera-*, Pkt. *karavīra-*, *kaṇera-*, Hi. *kaner*, Nep, *kanel*).

~Ta. *kaṇaviram* Red Oleander, *Nerium odorum*, Ma. *kaṇavīram*, Ka. *kaṇagil*, *kaṇagile*, *gaṇigalu*, *gannēṟaḷe*, etc., Te. *ganneru*, *gannēru* id.

48. *karīra-* the shoot of a bamboo, Suśr., etc. (Pa. *kaḷīra-*, Pkt. *karilla-* id.).

~Ka. *kaṟile, kaṟale* a bamboo shoot, Tu. *kaṇile* id., Ma. *kayal* a shoot or branch growing from the root. Kitt., No. 89.

49. *kartá-* m. hole, cavity, RV., AV., etc. (also *gárta-*, ŚBr., etc.; cf. Pkt. *khaḍḍā* hole, pit, *gaḍḍa* hole; Hi. *gāṛā* ditch, etc. (*Nep.D.* s.v. *gāṛnu*), Pj., La. *khaḍḍ* pit, etc. (*Nep.D.* s. v. *khāṛal*)].

~Ka. *kaḍḍa* a pitfall to catch elephants, cf. *TPS.*, 1946, p. 21.

50. *kardama-* m. mud [Lex. *karda-*, *kardaṭa-* id.; *kardamila-* m. a muddy field, Kalpadruk°. (=*kedāra-*); Hi. *kādā*, *kādo* mud, etc.].

~Ka. *garde, gadde* a field, especially a paddy field (i.e. a muddy field), Kui *gado* muddy, slushy.

51. *kalaṅka-* m. stain, soil, impurity [Lex. *kalana-* id.].

~Ta *kalaṅku* to become turbid, Ka *kalaku* to make turbid, *kalumbu* turbidness, contamination, defilement, taint, *kaluhe* turbidness, impurity, *kale* a stain of mud; a moral stain or taint, Tu. *kalé* id; *kaleṅgu* rust, verdigris, Te. *kalāka* turbidity, etc. Cf. *BSOAS* , XI (1943), pp. 132-3.

52. *kalama-* thief, L. [Pkt. *kalama-* id.].

~Ta. *kaḷ* to steal, *kaḷvan* thief, etc, Cf. also *khala-* rogue, *TPS.*, 1946, p. 9.

53. *kalala-* n. the embryo a short time after conception, Suśr., etc. *kalana-* id. L.; Pa. Pkt. *kalala-*].

~Ta. *kaṟal* to bulge,*kaṟalai* tubercle, excrescence, Ma. *kaṟala* a swelling, chiefly in the groin, Ka. *karaṇe*, *kaṇṇe* a clot or lump, Te. *karaḍu* lump, clot.

54. *kalaha-*m. strife, quarrel, fight, MBh., etc. [Pa. Pkt. *kalaha-* *Nep.D.* s.v. *kalaha-*; Skt. *kali* strife, discord; Dameli *kalaṅgal* quarrel, fight.]

~Ta. *kalaṅku* to be stirred up, agitated, *kalām* war, battle, *kalāy* to quarrel, *kalāvu* to be agitated, Ma. *kalakkam* confusion, quarrel, *kalaśal* id., Ka. *kalaku* to be agitated, disturbed, Tu. *kalambuni* to quarrel, etc., *BSOAS*., XI, 132.

55. *kalā* art; skill, ingenuity [Pa. Pkt. *kalā*; Nep. *kal* mechanical contrivance, etc., Guj. *kaḷvũ* to understand, Pj. *kalnā* to learn].

~Ta. Ma. Ka. *kal* to learn; to practise, as arts, Ta. *kalai* art, science, learning, Ka. *kalita*, *kalike*, *kale* id., Tu *kalpuni* to learn, Te. *kaṟacu*, Go. *kaṟītānā* id.

56. *kalāpa*- m. bundle; peacock's tail; whole body or collection of a number of separate things.

~Ta. *kalappu* mixture, *kalappai* parts, as of a sacrifice; plough, Ma. *kalappu* the whole sum, *kalappa* plough and what belongs to it, Ka. *kalappu* a miscellaneous mass or collection, as of materials for a house, plough etc. Te. *kalapa* the materials for a plough or building. Kitt., No. 353.

57. *kali*- sour-rice gruel, Yaśast., i, 512, 9.

~Ta. Ma. *kaḷi* gruel, conjee, Te. *kali* id.

58. *kalka*- m. a medicinal paste (mixture); dirt, filth; sediment [Lex. *avakalkanam* mixing].

~Ta.*kalakku* to mix up, *kalavai* mixture; perfumed paste Ma. *kalakku* to mix, especially with water, Ka. *kalaka*, *kalka* a mixture; a mixture in medicine (of unboiled ingredients).

59. *kavara*- n. sourness, acidity, L.

~Ma. *kamarkka* to have an astringent taste, Ta. *kamaṟu* to feel a pungent sensation.

60. *kavarikī* f. a captive, prisoner, L.

~Ta. *kavar* to seize, capture, Ka. *kavar* to take away by force, seize, strip, plunder, *kavarte* plundering.

61. *kaváṣa-* open, wide apart (of the legs), Ait. Br.; n. pr. (lit. "straddling") [also *kaváṣ* open, yawning (of the leaves of a door), VS.].

~Ta. *kavaṭu* forked branch, fork of the legs; separation, division, *kavar* to branch off, fork, separate, Ma. *kava* forked branch, space between the legs, *kavekka* to stand astride, Ka. *kaval* to be forked; bifurcation, etc.

62. *kavāṭa-* the leaf or panel of a folding door [also *kapāṭa-* id.; *kavaṭī-*, *kuvāṭa-*, L., Pkt. *kavāḍa-*, *kavāla-*, Hi. *kivāṛ* fold of a door, etc.].

~Ta. *kavaṭu*, etc., see above; Gundert, *Mal. Dict.* s. v,

63. *kāca-* m. a yoke to support burdens, etc., Jātakam. 22, 55 [also *kāja-* id., R. ii, 5১, 17; Pa. *kāca-*. *kāja-*; Pkt. *kāva-*, *kāvaḍa-* carrying pole, Guj. Mar. *kāvaḍ* id.].

~Ta. *kā* carrying pole, *kāvaṭi* id., *kāvu* to carry on a pole on the shoulders, Ma. *kāvuka* id., Ka. *kāgaḍi*, *kāvaḍi*, carrying pole, Tu. *kāvaḍi*, Te. *kāvaḍi-*, *kāḍi*, Kui *kāsa*, Kuvi *kāñju* id.

64. *kānana-* n. forest, R. Ragh., etc.

~Ta. *kā* forest, pleasure grove, garden, *kāṉ* forest, *kāṉam* woodland, grove, *kāṉal* grove or forest on the seashore, Ma. *kāvu* garden, grove, *kānal* dry jungle, Ka. *kā* forest. Bloch, *BSOS.*, V, 740 (comparing also Skt. *kāntāra-*).

65. *kāśa-* m. a kind of grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*).

~Cf. Ka. *kāmañci*. *kāvañci*, *kāñci*, *kāci* a kind of grass (*Andropogon schœnanthus*), Ta. *kāvaṭṭai*, Ma. *kāvaṭṭa* id.

66. *kāśmarī* f. *Gmelina arborea*, MBh., etc. [also *kaśmarī*, *kambhārī*, *gambhārī*]

~The voicing of *gambhārī* suggests Drav. origin. In South Drav. the names of this tree are: Ta. *kumiḻ* (Lex. *kūmpal*), Ma. *kumiḻ*, *kumbiḷ*, Ka. (Lushington) *kumuḷe*, *kumbuḍi kūḷe*, Te. *gummuḍu*, *gumuḍu* id. The words are quite obviously related, though the Skt. word is not taken directly from South Drav. on account of phonetic differences. The Lexx. provide a form *kumudā* Gm. A. taken more directly from this source.

67. *kāṣaṇa*- unripe, Divyāv. 598, 16.

~Te. *kasu* raw, unripe, *kasuru* an unripe fruit, *kasūgāyi* id. Tu. *kaskāyi* half ripe, Ka. *kasa*, *kasaru* unripe; astringent.

68. *kiṅkiṇī* f. a small bell, MBh., etc. [Pkt. *kiṅkiṇī*, *khiṅkhiṇī* id.]

~Ta. *kiṇkiṇi* bell, KuT., etc., *kiṇi* cymbal *kiṇai* small drum, Ma. *kiṇukiṇu* tinkling, Ka. *kiṇi*, *giṇi* id., Tu. *kiṇikiṇi* thə tinkling of small bells, *kiṇilu̥*, *giṇigiṇi*, *ginilu̥* id.

69. *kilbiṣa*- n. impurity, stain, sin, guilt, RV., etc.

~Ta. *kaḷimpu* verdigris, rust; blemish, fault, defect, *ceḷimpu* verdigris, rust, Ma. *kaḷimpu*, *kiḷāvu*, Ka. *kilibu*, *kilubu*, *kilumbu*, *kiluvu*, Tu. *kilembu̥*, Te. *kilumu*, *cilumu*, Kuvi *kilmu* id.

70. *kīcaka*- m. a hallow bamboo whistling or rattling in the wind, MBh., etc.; a particular bird, R. ed. Bomb. 3, 75, 12.

~Ta. *kiccu* shrill crying sound, scream, Ka. *kīcu* the shrill chiriping of birds, Tu. *kīcuni* to squeaking, *kīcum-anu* to squeak, make a shrill noise.

71. *kī́ja-* spur, RV. 8, 66, 3.

~Ta. *kīṟu* to scratch, gash, *kīṟṟu* stripe, slash, Ka. *kīṟu kīsu, gīṟu, gīcu, gīju* to scrape, scratch, Tu. *kīruni, gīcuni,* Tel *gīcu, gīyu, gīsu* id. The *ṟ* in Ta. *kīṟu,* etc., represents an original affricate.

72. *kukkura-* dog, Mṛcch.,etc. [*kurkurá-* id., AV., *kukura-*, L.].

~Te. *kukka* dog. Onomatopaeic in origin: Ta. *kurai* to bark, Ma. *kurekka* id., Te. *kuṟṟu* to cry, yell, Tu. *gurane* the snarling of a dog, Malt. *kúrkúr* call to a dog, Gt. 519, Kitt., No. 44.

73. *kuca-* m. breast, Suśr., etc.

~Te. *kosa* tip, point, Ka. *koṭṭu* point, nipple (<**kočču*).

74. *kuñcikā* f. *Abrus precatorius*, L. [also *guñjā* id., Suśr., Pa. Pkt. *guñjā*].

~Ta. *kuṉṟi* crab's eye, Ma. *kunni* id.; Ka. *gurugañji, guruguñji, gurguñji,gurukuñji*, a compound with an obscure first element that has also been borrowed into IA.: Hi. *ghũghcī* id.

75. *kuṭaja-* m. *Wrightia antidysenterica*, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *kuṭacam, Kuṟiñcip°*, etc., Ma. *kuṭakappāla*, Ka. *koḍasige*, Te. *koḍise* id.

76. *kuṭī* f. intoxicating liquor, L.

~Ta. *kuṭi* to drink; sb. a drink; drunkenness, *kuṭiyan* drunkard, Ma. *kuṭi*, Ka. *kuḍi* to drink, Te. *kuḍucu* id.

77. *kuṭhāra-* m. axe, R., etc.

~Ka. *koḍali* axe, hatchet, Tu. *kuḍari, koḍari*, Te. *goḍḍali* id. From the Drav. verb Ta. *koṭṭu, kuṭṭu* to beat,

smash, break, Ka. *kuḍu* id., etc. [*TPS.*, 1946, p. 8.] Gt. 521, Kitt., No. 261.

78. *kuṭhāku-* m. woodpecker, L.

~From Drav. *kuṭṭu* to beat, strike, peck. Cf. above.

79. *kuḍava-* m.n. a measure of grain [*kuḍapa-*, *kuṭapa-*]

~Ta. *kuḷakam* a dry or liquid measure, Ka. *koḷagu*, *kuḷa* a measure of capacity, Tu. *koḷaga* a measure of grain, Te. *kolapātramu* a vessel of measurement, *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 139.

80. *kuṇaka-* m. a newly born animal, BhP. [Phḷūra *kuṇāk* baby].

~Ta. *kuṟa* young, *kuṟaku* youth, infant, *kuṟantai* child, Ka. *koḍa* youth, *koṇasu* young one of wild beasts, etc. Cf. also Khar. Inscr. *ku'ḍaǵa* boy, *ku'ḍi* girl, *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 135.

81. *kúṇapa-*[1] n. corpse, AV., TS., etc. [*kuṇápa-* rotten, stinking, ŚBr. Suśr.; Pa. *kuṇapa-*, Pkt. *kuṇima-* id. (Pisch., § 107)].

~Ka. *koṟ* the state of being putrid or pap-like, *koṟaku* the state of being worn out, decayed, *koṟaci* putrid, impure, stinking, *koṟe* to rot; anything impure, rotton, Tu. *kureyuni* to rot, *koḷambe* decayed, Ta. *kuṟai* to be soft, pulpy. Kitt., No. 327.

82. *kuṇapa-*[2] m. a spear, MBh., etc.

~Ka. *koṇapi* a flail, Te. *gunupa* a club, *gunapamu* an iron crowbar.

83. *kuṇḍa-* n. a clump [e.g. *darbha-kuṇḍa*, P. 6, 2, 136].

~Ka. *koṇḍe* tassel, *goṇḍe* cluster, tuft, tassel, Tu. *goṇḍe* id., Ma. *koṇṭa* tuft of hair, Ta. *koṇṭai*, Te. *koṇḍe* id.

84. *kuṇḍala-* n. ring, earring; coil of rope [Pa. Pkt. *kuṇḍala-*, Nep. *kũṛulo, gũṛulo*, etc.].

~Ka. *guṇḍa, guṇḍu* round, Tu. *guṇḍu* a ball, anything round, *guṇḍala* an ear ornament, Te. *guṇḍu* a ball, anything round or spherical, *guṇḍrana* roundness, *guṇḍrani* round, *guṇḍramu* id.].

85. *kutuka-* n. curiosity; eagerness, desire [cf. *kutūhala-*, *kautuka-*, *kautūhala-* id.].

~Ta. *kutukutu* to desire eagerly, *kutukutuppu* desire, eagerness, cf. Ta. *koti* to boil, bubble up, *kutampu* id., Ma. *koti* eagerness, greediness, *kotikka* to be greedy, covet, Tu. *kodi* greed, eagerness, *kodipuni* to boil, seethe.

86. *kuddāla-* m.n. a kind of spade or hoe, MBh., etc.

~Ka. *guddali* a kind of pick-axe, hoe, Tu. *guddoli*, Te. *guddali* id., *guddaliñcu* to hoe, Kot. *kudāy* hoe, Malt. *qodali* id. From the vb. Ka. *guddu* to strike, pound, etc. Gt. 521; Kitt., No. 266; cf. *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 134.

87. *kubja-* m.f. (*ā*) n. humpbacked, VS., etc. [cf. also *kubera-* n. of a divinity; *kubhra-* a humpbacked bull, MS.; Nep. *kubro* humpbacked; Pa. Pkt. *khujja-*; Mar. *khubā*, *khubaṛ* hump on back].

~Ka. *gubāru* a swelling, *gubbi* a knob, protuberance, *kuppu, guppu* an abnormal globular excrescence on the body, Tu. *gubbi, gubbĕ* knob, Te. *gubaka, gubba* knob, protuberance.

88. *kuraṇṭa-* m. a yellow kind of Barleria [also *kuraṇḍa-*; Pkt. *koriṇṭa-* id.].

~Ta. *kuṟiñci Barleria prionitis*, Ma. *kuṟiññi* id.

89. *kurarī* ewe, L.

~Cf. Ta. Ma. *koṟi* sheep, Ka. *kuṟi* a sheep, ram, Tu. *kuri* a sheep, Te. *goṟṟe* id.

90. *kurala-* m. lock of hair, L. [Pkt. *kurala-* hair].

~Ta. *kural* woman's hair, *kūral* id., L., *kuṟal* curling hair, Ma. *kuṟal* woman's hair tied in a knot. Cf. next.

91. *kurula-* m. a curl or lock of hair [Pkt. *kurula-* id.].

~Ta. *kuruḷ* to curl; sb. a curl, lock of hair, Ma. *kuruḷ* curls, Ka. *kuruḷ*. Te. *kurulu* id. Cf. last. Kitt., No. 10; K. Amrita Row, *IA.*, 46, (1917), p. 35.

92. *kulija-* n. a vessel for holding liquids. KauśS., a particular measure, Pāṇ.

~Ta. *kuṟici* pot, cooking vessel, Perump°., etc. Cf. *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 139.

93. *kulmāṣa-* m. a sort of Phaseolus; a species of Dolichos.

~Compounded of *kul-* = Ta. *koḷ* *Dolichus uniflorus* (whence *kulattha-*, *TPS.*, 1945, p. 92) and *māṣa-* bean.

94. *kūṇ-* *kūṇati* to contract, shrink [Pkt. *kūṇ-* id.; *kūnia-* contracted: *īṣan-mukulita* (of flowers *DNM.*)].

~Ta. *kūṉu* to become crooked, bent down, *kūṉ* bend, curve; humpback, *kūṉ malar*, KuT. 147 (=*vaḷainta malar* C.), Ma. *kūnu* to stoop, Ka. *kūn* to be bent or bowed. Cf. also Ta. Ma. *kōṇu* to be bent, curved.

95. *kūpa-*[1] m. mast, L.; a post to which a boat or ship is tied, L. [also *kūpadaṇḍa-* mast, DKC., Pa. *kūpa*, *kūpaka-* mast, Pa. *kūva*, *kūvaga-*, Guj. *kuvo*, Sgh. *kum̃ba* id.].

~Ta. *kūmpu* mast of a vessel; cone-shaped pinnacle of a chariot, Ma. *kūmpu* mast of a ship; peak, pointed heap, Tu. *kūvè* mast, *kuvè* id. Cf. *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 135.

96. *kūpa-*[2] well; hole, hollow, RV., etc.

~Ta. *kūval* well; hollow pit, Malaip°., etc. Tu. *guvelu* well.

97. *kūbara-* m.n. the pole of a chariot, MaitrS., etc. [Pa. *kubbara-*, Pkt. *kūvara-* id.].

~Cf. Ta. *kompu* stick, staff, pole of a palanquin, etc., Ma. *kompu* pole of a palanquin, etc. This is presumably the same word as Ta. Ma. *kompu* branch, etc., the branch of a tree forming a chariot pole. The suffix *-ar* appearing in *kūbara-* also appears in Ta. *kompar* branch, beside *kompu*.

98. *kūra-* n. boiled rice, Bhpr. [Pa. Pkt. *kūra-*, Hi. *kūr* a mixture of flower, ghee, and sugar; Skt. also *kuru*, L.].

~Ta. *kūṟ* thick gruel, porridge, Ma. *kūṟ* boiled rice, Ka. *kūṟ* id., Tu. *kūru*, *kūḷu*, Te. *kūḍu* id. Kitt., No. 311; A. N. Upadhye, *ABORI.*, xii (1931), p. 280.

99. *kūrca-* m. a bunch, tuft (of grass, etc., often used as a seat), TS., etc. [Pa. *koccha-* a seat of rushes, Pkt. *kucca-* beard; Nep. *kuco* brush, etc.].

~Ta. *kuccu* cluster, tuft, tassel, Ma. *kuccu* tassel, whisp of straw, brush, Ka. *kuccu*, *koccu* id., Tu. *kucci* tassel, Te. *kuccu* tuft, tassel. Cf. *guccha-*.

100. *kūrd-* to leap, jump, play [also *khurd-*, *gud-*, *gūrd-*, DhP., *gūrda-* a jump, Kāṭh. *Nep.D.* s.v. *kudnu*].

~Ta. *kuti* to jump, leap, bound, frisk, Ma. *kuti* to leap, gallop, jump, Ka. *kuduku* to trot, *gudi* to jump. Deriv. probably Ta. *kutirai* horse, etc. Also Ta. *kūttu* to dance, Ma. *kūttu*, Ka. *kūtu* dance, play. Assimilation of *r* in the South Drav. words.

101. *kekā-* f. the cry of a peacock, MBh., etc.

~Ka. *kēku*, *kēgu* to cry as a peacock, Te. *kēka* a loud cry, *kēkariñcu* to cry, yell, Go. *kēyānā* to call.

102. *kedāra-* a field, especially one under water, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *cey* a field, especially a wet field, Ma. *ceyi*, Ka. *key*, *kay* id., Te. *cēnu* (pl. *cēlu*) field; Ta. *kaitai* paddy-field, L.; Ta. Ma. *cēṟu* mud, mire, Ka. *kesaṟu*, Tu. *kēdu̥*, *kesaru̥* id.; cf. furthur Ta. *cetumpu* mud, mire. Skt. *kedāra-* = Ka. *kesaṟu* with *d* for *s* as in Ta. *cetumpu* and othe exx. (Ta. *nutal* forehead : Ka. *nosal*, etc.).

103. *kenāra-* m. the temples, upper part of the cheek, head, L.

~Ka. *kendāre* the temples; cf. Ta. *ceṉṉi* head; elephant's temple, Ma. *kenni*, *cenni* temples, Ka. *kenne* the upper cheek, Tu. *kenni*, *kennè* cheek. *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 125.

104. *keyūra-* n. bracelet [Pa. *kāyura-*, *keyūra-*]

~Gt., p. 520, rightly compares the first part of this word with the Drav. words for hand, arm, Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *kai*, Te. *cēyi*, Kui *kaju*, etc. The second part is perhaps *ūṟu*<*uṟu* to be attached to. Cf. also Ma. *kayyuṟa* gloves (*uṟa* sheath).

105. *kokila-* m. Indian cuckoo, MBh., etc.

~Ta. Ma. *kuyil* Indian cuckoo, Ka. *kukil* to cry as a cuckoo; a cuckoo, Tu. *kōgilè*, *kōjilè* cuckoo, Gt., p. 519; Kitt., No. 46.

106. *koṭa-* m. a fort, stronghold, Vāstuv°. [also *koṭṭa-*].

~Ta. *kōṭṭai* fort, castle, Ma. *kōṭṭa*, Ka. *kōṭe*, Te. *kōṭa* id. Cald., p. 570; A. N. Upadhye, *ABORI.*, xii, 281.

107. *koṭara-* n. the hollow of a tree; cave, cavity, MBh., etc. [Pkt. *koṭṭara-*, *koṭara-* id.].

~Ka. *goṭaru*, *goṭru* a hole a hallow in a wall, tree, etc., cf. *goḍagu* a hollow, hole, *koṭṭa*, *goṭṭa* bamboo tube, *koḍe* to hollow out, excavate, Tu. *kuḍè* a rat's hole, etc.

108. *koṇa*– m. drumstick; staff, club, R., etc.

~Cf. Ta. *kuṉil* short stick, cudgel; drumstick, Ka. *kuṇil* cudgel, *kuḍupu* drumstick, *guṇaku, guṇuku* id.

109. *khaṭṭika*– m. butcher, L. [Hi. *khaṭīk*, Mar. *khāṭak*].

~Ka. *kaṭaka, kaṭika, kaḍika*, etc., one who cuts or kills, a butcher; *kaḍi* to cut, Ta. Ma. *kaṭi* id., Tu. *kaḍiyuni* to cut, *gaḍi* incision. Kitt., No. 193.

110. *khaṭvā*– bed, cot [cf. *kaṭāha*– cot, L., *kaṭa-khaṭṭi*–, *khaḍū, khāṭi* bier, L., Pa. *khaṭopikā* couch, bedstead, Pkt. *khaṭṭā*, Hi. *khāṭ*, etc.].

~Ta. *kaṭṭil* cot, bedstead, Ma. *kaṭṭil*, Te. *kaṭli* litter, dooly, Go. *kaṭṭul* a bed, cot, Kuvi *kateli* id. Kitt., *IA.*, i, p. 234; No. 274; Cald., p. 570.

111. *khaliśa*– a kind of fish, L. [also *khaleśa*–, L.].

~Ta. *keḷiṟu, keḷutti* a kind of fish, Tu. *koleji*.

112. *khalūrikā* parade ground, arena [cf. *khuralī* id.].

~Ta. Ma. *kaḷari*, arena, circular area for gymnastic exhibitions, etc.

113. *khalla*– m. canal, trench [Pkt. *khalla*–, *khāla*– id., Mar. Guj. *khāḷ* gutter, etc.].

~Ta, *kāl* irrigation channel, *Naṟ.*, 34, etc., usually in the cpds. *vāykkāl, kālvāy* id., Ma. *vāykkāl*, Ka. *kāl, kāluve*, Tu. *kālive* Te. *kāluva* id.

114. *khura*– hoof, KātyŚrS., Mn., etc.

~Ta. *kuracu, kuraccai* horse's hoof, Ka. *gorasu, gorise*, Te. *gorije, gorise, korise* id.

115. *kheṭaka*– n. shield, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *kiṭuku* shield, Mullaip°. 41 etc. Cf. Ka. *kaḍitale* id.

116. *gaṇḍa-*[1] cheek, VarBrS., etc. [also *galla-* id.].

~Ka. *gaṇḍa, galla* cheek (one of the twenty-one tsms.). Te. *gaṇḍamu*, Ma. *keṇḍa* id. Out of **karṇḍa*, cf. *karaṭa-*. For *-ll* : *-ṇḍ-*, cf. Te. *pella* : *piṇḍa*, *TPS.*, 1946, 23.

117. *gaṇḍa-*[2] joint, knot, L. (and *gaṇḍū* f. id.).

~Ka. *gaṇalu* knuckle, knot or joint in cane, *gaṇike, gaṇṭu, geṇṇu, giṇṇu* id.

118. *gaṇḍa-*[3] lump, excrescence, boil [Be. *gēṛ* tuber].

~Ka *gaḍḍe* a bulbous root; a lump, *gaṇṭe, geḍḍe, geṇḍe* id. Kitt., No. 13; Bloch, *BSOS.*, V. 741. Cf. *kanda*. From the same source also Skt. *gaḍu* excrescence, hump.

119. *gaṇḍa-*[4] hero, L. [and *gaṇḍīra-* id., L.].

~Ka. *gaṇḍa* strong or manly man, husband; *gaṇḍasu* a male person; manliness, Te. *gaṇḍaḍu*, Tu. *gaṇḍu* a strong man, Tu. *garṇḍālu* a stalwart man, giant. Kitt., No. 195.

120. *gárta-* m. a high seat, throne; seat of a chariot, RV., etc. [Nep. *gādi* throne, etc., pointing to original **garda-*].

~Ka. *gaddige, gadduge, garduge* a throne, a seat, Te. *gaddiya, gadde*, Tu. *gaddige* id.

121. *gardabhá-* donkey, RV., etc.,

~Ta. *kaṟutai* donkey, Ma. *kaṟuta*, Ka. *kaṟte, katte*, Kot. *kaṛt*, Te. *gāḍida* id., with Aryan suffix *-bha*. Cf. Bloch, *BSL.*, XXV (1924), p. 14.

122. *guccha-* m. bundle, bunch, clump; bush, Mn., etc.

[Cf. also *gutsa-, guñja-, gulucchа-, guluñca-* id., and *kūrca-* No. 99, Pkt. *guccha-, goccha*, Nep. *gucchā* id.]

~Ta. *kuccu, koccu* cluster, *kuñcam* id., Ka. *kuccu, gutti, kottu, goñcal, goñce* id., Tu. *kuñca* tassel, *goñci, goñcilu* bunch, cluster, Te. *gutti, goṭtu* id., etc. Kitt., No. 95.

123. *guḍa-* m. a globe or ball, MBh., etc.

Te. *guḍusu* a circle, round, *guḍḍu* eyeball, egg, *goḍḍa* a cylindrical stone, *gruḍḍu* eyeball, egg, Ka. *guḍasu* anything round, *guḍḍu* eyeball, etc. Kitt., No. 371.

124. *gulma-* m. a cluster or clump, thicket; a troop.

~Ka. *guṇpu* a heap; assembly, *gumpu, gummi, gummu* id., *gubaru* thickness, thick foliage, *gumi* a heap, crowd, Kot. *gum* bush, Te. *gumi* a crowd, multitude, Tu. *gumpu* flock, assemblage, Ta. *kumi* to accumulate, *kumpu* crowd, collection [cf. also *kulmi-* herd, TS.].

125. *gophaṇā* f. sling, Yaśast. [cf. Apte's Dictionary].

~Ta. *kavaṇ, kavaṇai* sling, Ma. *kavaṇa, kaviṇa*, Ka. Tu. *kavaṇe*, Tu. also *kappaṇḍa* sling, Kot. *givṇḍy* id. The form of the Skt. word is influenced by popular etymology.

126. *ghaṭa-* m. pot, MBh., etc.

~Ta. Ma. *kuṭam*, Ka. *koḍa*, Kot. *koṛm*; Tu. *guḍke* a small earthen vessel. The Skt. word is based on a form with voiced initial: **goḍa*, cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 138.

127. *ghuṭa-* m. ankle, L. [and *ghuṇṭa-* id., L.; cf. *khuḍaka-* ankle joint, Suśr. (*khulaka-*)].

~Ta. *keṇṭai* ankle, *karaṭu* id., Ma. *kuraṭṭa* knuckle of hand or foot, Tu. *gaṇṭu* ankle, Ka. *giṇṇu, geṇṭu* knot or joint, GoM. (Lind.) *gut-kēyu* wrist, Kur. *mulguṭā* wrist, *goṛkhō* ankle; *BSOAS.*, XI (1944), p. 342.

128. *ghuṇa-* m. a woodworm [cf. *kiṇa-* id., *kuṇa-* a kind of insect living in clothes].

~Ka. *goṇṇe* (*-puṟu*) a woodworm. Kitt., No. 52.

129. *ghūrṇ-* to move to and fro, roll about, shake.

~Ka. *kuṇi* to move about in a hopping or skipping manner, to dance, Te. *guniyu* to dangle, dance [<**kurni*, *gurni*].

130. *cakragaja-* m. *Cassia tora* [and *cakramarda-*].

~Ka. *cagace*, *cogaci*, *cogarci*, *ṭagarise*, *tagarci*, etc., id. The Skt. word has been transformed by popular etymology. In *cakramarda-* the last element represents the oblique base of the Drav. word for "tree" (Ka. *mara*, *g*. *marada*). Cf. *karamarda-*, *picumarda-*.

131. *caṅga-* m.f.n. handsome, L. [Nep. *caṅgā*].

~Ka. *canna* a handsome man, *cannage* handsomely, *cannige* a handsome, fine man, Te. *canna* handsome.

132. *cañcu-* f. beak, bill [Pkt. *cañcu*, Guj. *cā̃c* f.; cf. also Deś. *cuṃculī*, Mar. *cū̃c*; Be. Hi. *cõc*, Be. *cõṭ*, Sgh. *hoṭa*; Guj. Mar. *ṭoc*, etc.; *Nep. D.* s. v. *cuco*; also *cucundarī*, *chuchundara-* musk-rat, a cpd. of this word and *undura-* rat].

~Ka. *cuñca*, *cuñca* a bird's beak, *cuṇḍu* id., *cuñc-ili*, *cuṇḍ-ili* musk-rat, Ta. Ma. *cuṇṭu* id., Kui *suḍa* mouth, beak, Prj. *cōṇḍ* mouth. Cf. *tuṇḍa-*, *śuṇḍā*.

133. *caṭaka-* m. sparrow, MBh., etc. [F. *caṭā*, *caṭikā*; Pkt. *caḍaa-*, *ciḍiga-* m.; *Nep.D.* s.v. *caro*].

~Ka. *ceṭṭi* a hen-sparrow; cf. Te. *jiṭṭa* the generic name of certain kinds of birds.

134. *caṭuka-* a wooden vessel for taking up any fluid.

~Ta. *caṭṭuvam* ladle, Ma. *caṭṭukam*, Ka. *saṭṭu*, *saṭuka*, *saṭṭuga*, *soṭaka*, Tu. *saṭṭi*, Te. *caṭṭuvamu* id.

135. *caṇḍātaka-* n. a short petticoat, ŚBr., KātyŚrS.

~Ka. *caḍḍi* breeches which reach only to the middle of the thighs, *caṇaka*, *caṇṇa*, *ceṇṇa* id. Cf. *calanaka*–, No. 139.

136. *catura*– m.f.n. dexterous, clever, Kāv.

~Ta. *catur* ability, skill; means, contrivance, *catir* greatness, excellence, Ma. *caturam* dexterous; attractive, lovely, Tu. *cadupu* skill, Ka. *caduru*, *ceduru* cleverness, Te. *caduvu* to learn, *caduruḍu* a clever man, *caduru*, *cadurālu* a clever woman, *caduru* cleverness.

137. *capaṭa*– m.f.n. flat, insipid, Hem. Uṇ. 142.

~Ta. *cappai* flat, insipid, Ma. *cappaṭṭa*, Tu. *cappaṭa*, Ka. *cappe*, *sappage*, Te. *cappa* id., etc. Cf. also Koṅk. *cappo* flat, insipid.

138. *carv*– to chew, Mṛcch., etc. [cf. Pa. *cappeti* chews, Pkt. *cavvia*– *capāunu*, Sgh, *hapanavā*, etc.: Nep. *cabāunu*, Mar. *cāvnẽ*, etc.].

~Ta. *cappu* to chew, *cavaṭṭu* id., Ma. *cappuka* to smack the lips, *cavekka* to chew, *cava* chewing, *cavaccal* id., Ka. *capparisu* to smack the lips, chew with a noise, Kot. *avč*– to chew (Emeneau, *Kota Texts*, pt. 4, p. 224; for loss of *c*–, cf. "Drav. St., VI"), Malt. *chopye* to chew. Assimilation of *r* in Drav. The alternation Skt. *carv*–: **carp*–, Pkt. *cavv*–: Pa. *capp*– is characteristically Dravidian.

139. *calanaka*– m.n. a short petticoat.

~Ka. *calla*, *collaṇa*, *collaṇa* drawers and breeches of different lengths, Tu. *callaṇa*, *callāna* short breeches, Te. *callaḍamu* id. [Mar. *coḷnā* short breeches and drawers]. Cf. *caṇḍātaka*–, No. 135.

140. *cāpa*– m.n. a bow, MBh., etc.

~Cf. Ka. *cācu* to stretch, e. g. a bow, *cāpu* stretching, a stretch, Te. *cācu* to stretch, *cāpu* id.; sb. extending, stretching, Ma. *cāmpu* stretch, length.

141. *cikka-* in *cikkagaja* = *gajabālaka-*, Yasast., cf. Schmidt, *Nacht räge.*

~Ka. *cikka* small [cf. also Pkt. *cikkā* a small or trifling matter, Deśin° iii, 21; A. Master, *JBBRAS.*, v (1929), p. 114; and A. N. Upadhye, *ABORI.*, xii (1931), p. 281].

142. *ciñca* f. tamarind tree.

~Te. *cinta* tamarind; cf. Kur. *cī̃ã* the kernel of the tamarind fruit. Skt. has also *tintiḍīka-* and this alternation *t-* / *c* is characteristic of Dravidian. In Drav. *t-* appears in Malt. *teteli* tamarind tree.

143. *cullī* f. fireplace, Mn., etc. [Nep. *culi*, etc.].

~Ta. *cuḷḷai* potter's kiln furnace, *cūḷai* id.,' Ma. *cuḷa*, *cūḷa* id. Cf. Ta. Ma. *cuṭu* to burn, etc.

144. *cūḍā* f. tuft of hair on top of the head, Mn., etc.; the crest of a cock or peacock, L.

~Ta. *cūṭu* to wear on the head, to be crowned, sb. hair-tuft; crest, comb, *cūṭṭu* to crown, as with a diadem, etc., sb. peacock's crest, cock's comb, Ma. *cūṭuka* to wear on the head, *cūṭṭu* cock's comb, Ka. *sūḍu*, Kitt., No. 283.

144. *colaka-* n. bark. L. [cf. with *ch-*, Be. *chol* rind, etc. *Nep.D.* s. v. *cholnu*].

~Ta. *coli* to strip off, peel off, *toli* id.; skin, rind, husk, Ma. *toli* skin; bark, peel, rind, Ka. Tu. *suli*, Te. *olucu* to peel off, Malt. *cale* rind, peel, *cōlye* to skin, strip the bark off a tree. Cf. with different vowel Tu. *cilkuni* to flay: Nep. *chilnu* to peel, etc., and Skt. *challi-*. Possibly *cola-*, *colaka-* jacket, is the same word, originally meaning a bark garment.

145. *chikkāra-* a kind of antelope, Dhanv. vi, 69.

~Cf. Ka. *cigari*, *cigare* the black antelope.

146. *jaḍa-* m.f.n. stiff, torpid, apathetic, senseless; stupid, dull.

~Ka. *jaḍḍu* callosity, a callous spot, *jiḍḍu*, *daḍḍu* id., *daḍḍa* a blockhead, stupid, ignorant man, Tu. *jaḍḍu* callosity, hardness, *daḍḍu* id.; dull, stupid, idle, *daḍḍe* a stupid fellow, Te. *jaḍḍu* drowsiness, sluggishness.

147. *jarjara-* m.f.n. cracked, broken, broken in pieces, MBh.

~Cf. Kui *jeri* cracked, partly broken, *jeri jeri āva* to be cracked, partly broken, *jerjeri*, *jorjori* cracked, partly broken, bruised.

148. *jūṭa-* m. twisted lock or bundle of hair, Mālatīm.

~Ka. *juṭṭu* tuft of hair, Tu. Te. *juṭṭu* id.

149. *ḍiṇḍima-* m. a kind of drum, R., etc.

~Ta. *taṇṇumai* a kind of drum; cf. Ta. *tuḍumai*, Ka. *tuḍumu*, Te. *tuṭumu* id.

150. *tagara-* m.n. *Tabernaemontana coronaria*, and a fragrant powder prepared from it, MBh., etc. [also *sthakara-*, Kauś., *sthagara-*, TBr. id., Pkt. *ṭagara-*, *tagara-*].

~Ta. *takaram* id., *Naṟṟ.*, 170, etc., Ma. *takaram*, Ka. *tagara*.

151. *taḍ-* to beat knock, strike.

~Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. *taṭṭu* to beat, strike, knock, Ka. *tāṭu* to beat, strike, Malt. *taṛche* to slap. Cald., 585; Gundert, 520 (comparing *tāla-* time (in music)), Bloch, *BSOS.*, V, 737.

152. *taḍit* lighting, Nir., etc.

~Ka. *siḍil*, Tu. *teḍilu* thunderbolt. Cf. *BSOAS.*, XII (1947), p. 148.

153. *tarasa-* m.n. meat.

~Ta. *tacai* flesh, Ma. *taca* raw flesh, proud flesh, also *taka*, *tava*, *daśa*; *daśappu* fleshy excrescence muscle, corpulence. Assimilation of *r* in Drav.

154. *tardū* f. a wooden ladle, L. [Pkt. *taḍḍu*, Nep. *ḍāṛu*].

~Te. *teḍḍu* a wooden ladle or spoon; an oar or paddle; cf. Ta. *tuṭuppu* ladle.

155. *tarpa-* m. raft, ship, Hem. Uṇ. 296 [also *talpa-* id., L., Pkt. *tappa-*; cf. τράππαγα (Periplus), Mar. *tāphā*, *tarāpha* id., etc.]

~Ta. *teppam* raft, float, Ka. Te. *teppa* id.

156. *talavara-* an official title used in the Deccan, *Pādatāḍitaka*, p. 33 [Jain Pkt. *talavara-*; also in inscriptions, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, xx. p. 7].

~Ta. *talaivan̲* head man, ruler, Ma. *talavan*. The IA word represents the Drav. plural (*talaivar*, *talavar*) used honorifically. Sircar, *Suceessors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 19.

157. *tāṇḍava-* m.n. dancing, especially Śiva, BhP., etc.

~Ta. *tāṇṭu* to dance, skip, jump, Ma. *tāṇṭuka* to jump across, Ka. *tāṇṭu* jump, dance, leap over, *dāṇṭu* jump over, Te. *dā̃ṭu* to leap, jump.

158. *tāli-* a kind of ornament, Bhoja Uṇ. 168.

~Ta. Ma. *tāli* neck ornament, especially as a marriage badge, Te. Ka. *tāli*, *tāḷi*, Tu. *tāli* id.

159. *tāla-* lock, bolt, W. [and *tālaka-*, L.; *tāḍaka-* Divyāvadāna, Pa. *tāḷa-*].

~Ta. *tāṟ* bolt, bar, latch, in mod. Ta. Usually in the cpds. *tāṟkkōl*, *tāṟppāḷ*, Ma. *tāṟ* bolt, bar, lock, also *tāvu*, *tākkuṟa*, *taṟutu*, Ka. *tāṟ*, *tāpāl* bar, bolt, Tu. *tārkolu* id.

160. *tinikā- Holcus sorghum*, NPr.

~Ta. *tiṉai* Italian millet, etc., Ma. *tina* id., Ka. *tene* spike of corn, *tenegiḍa* Italian millet.

161. *tila-* *Sesamum indicum*, AV., etc.

~Ta. Ma. Ka. *eḷ* id.; loss of *c-* in South Drav., change of *c-* > *t-* in Skt. *BSOAS*., XII (1947), p. 142.

162. *tuṅga-* m.f.n. high, lofty, steep; m. a mountain, peak.

~Ta. *tūṅku* to hang, overhang, etc., *tūkkam* hanging, etc., height, *tūkku* being suspended, etc.; height, perpendicularity, steepness, Ma. *tūṅṅu* to hang, be suspended, *tūkkam* hanging; precipice, Ka. *tūgu*, Te. *tũgu* to hang, etc.

163. *tuṇḍa-* n. beak, snout, trunk of an elephant [Pkt. *tuṇḍa-*, *toṇḍa-*, Nep. *ṭũṛo*].

~Ta. Ma. *cuṇṭu*, Ka. *cuṇḍu* beak; Ta. *toṇṭai*, *toṇḍalam* elephant's trunk, etc. Cf. *cañcu*, *śuṇḍā*.

164. *tuṇḍī* f. a kind of gourd, Cāṇ. [also *tuṇḍikā*, L., and *tuṇḍikerī*, Suśr., *tuṇḍikeśī*, L., with obscure final element].

~Ka. *toṇḍe*, *doṇḍe* the gourd, *Momordica monadelpha* Roxb. (or *Bryonia grandis*, Lin.), Ma. *toṇṭi* id.

165. *tuttha-* n. blue vitriol, Suśr. [cf. *dhūrta-* rust, L.].

~Ta. *turu* rust; verdigris, *turucu*, *turicu* blue vitriol, rust, Ma. *turiśu* blue vitriol or sediment of vitriol, *turuvu*, *turumpu* rust, Ka. Tu. *tuttu* blue vitriol (<**turtu*).

166. *tunda-* protuberant belly; navel [and *tundī* id., L.].

~Ta. *unti* navel; belly, stomach, Ma. *unti* navel. Loss of *c-* in Ta. Ma. and change of *c-*>*t-* in Skt.; cf. *tila-* and *BSOAS*., XII (1947), p. 142.

167. *turumba-* m. = *gahana-*, Hem. Uṇ. 326.

~Ta. *tuṟu* to be thick, crowded, *tuṟumpu* id., *tuṟumal* closeness, Ma. *tuṟuka* to be thronged, Ka. *tuṟugu* to be crammed; a throng, etc. [cf. Mar. *turũba* full, adv.],

168. *tulasī* f. holy basil, BhP., etc.

~Ta. *tuḻāy* sacred basil, PatP., etc., Ka. *toḷaci*, *toḷace*, *toḷañce* id.

169. *toya-* n. water, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *tōy* to be wet, to become wet, Ma. *tōyuka* to soak, Ka. *tō*, *tōyu* to become wet or moist, Te. *tõgu* id. Kitt., No. 155; Bloch, *BSOS.*, V, 739.

170. *dala-*[1] n. leaf, petal, shoot, blade, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *itaḻ* petal, leaf, *ataḻ* petal, Ma. *itaḷ* flower, leaf, Ka. *esaḷ* id. Loss of initial vowel in Skt.

171. *dala-*[2] a detachment of troops, L.

~Ka. *daḻa* an army, a force, troop, Tu. *daḷa*, Te. *daḍamu*, *daḷamu* id.

172. *dukūla-* m. fine cloth, MBh., etc. [Pkt. *dugulla-*, *dualla-*, *duūla-*, Pisch., §90].

~Ta. Ma. *tukil* cloth; cf. also Go. *dikṛi* cloth, pl. *dikṛīng* clothes.

173. *dūṣya-* n. cloth, calico, Divyāv. [also written *dūśya-*: cf. *dūrśa-* a kind of woven cloth, AV., Pa. *dussa-* (Vin., etc.), Pkt. *dūsa-* id.; Nep. *dhuso*, etc.].

~Ta. *tūcu* cloth, garment; cotton, Ka. *dūsu* cloth. Loss of *r* in Drav. which is responsible for voicing of initial.

174. *dhaṭī* f. a piece of cloth worn over the privities, L.

~Te. Tu. Ka. *daṭṭi* waistband, sash, zone.

175. *naraka*- m.n. hell, place of torment, m. N. of a demon slain by Kṛṣṇa ("the crusher").

~Ta. *nerukku* to press, squeeze, bruise, torment, *narukku* id., Ka. *naraku, naruku, naggu* to be bruised, *neggu* to crush, Tu. *narguni* to be bruised, crushed, *naraguḍuni* to bruise, crush, torment.

176. *nikurumba*- m.n. flock, mass, multitude, Viddh. [also *nikuramba*- Mālatim°.].

~Ka. *nigumbu* to heap, lay in a mass. Loss of *r* in Ka.

177. *nibiḍa*- m.f.n. pressed tight, close, compact, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *ñemiṭu* to crush, press, squeeze, *nimiṇṭu* id., Ma. *ñamuṇṭu* to squeeze, *ñeviṇṭu* id., Tu. *nauṇṭuni* to pinch.

178. *nirguṇḍī* f. *Vitex negundo*, Suśr.

~With the first part of this word compare Ta. Ma. *nocci Vitex negundo*, Tu. *nekki*, Te. *nekki, lekki, lakki* id. *BSOAS.*, XI (1943), p. 131.

177. *nud*- to push, RV., etc.

Since this verb appears to have no. satisfactory IE etymology, we may compare Ta. *nuntu* to propel, cast forth, thrust away, *nutu* to remove; cf. also (with loss of initial *n*-), Ta. Ma. *uṇtu* to push, thrust, impel, drive.

180. *ned*- to flow [in *atinedati* overflows, BAU.].

~Ka. *nādu* to moisten, *nāndu* to make damp; to liquefy, dissolve, *nāṟu* to moisten, wet, Ta. Ma. *nāntu* to become wet, Go. *nāndānā* to get wet, Kui *nenja* to water plants. Drav. *n*- here out of original *ñ*-, which accounts for the vowel -*ē*- in Skt. (Cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 603.)

181. *nemi*- m. *Dalbergia ougeinensis* L.

~Ka. Te. *nemmi* id.

182. *pakkaṇa* m.n. the hut of an outcast; village of barbarians, Mbh., etc.

~Cf. Ta. *pākkam* village, seaside village, village of Kuṟavans (*kuṟavar pākkattu*, KuT. 339, cf. ibid. 394).

183. *paṅgu-* lame, MBh., etc. [also *paṅgula-* id., Suśr., Pa. Pkt. *paṅgu-, paṅgula-*; Mar. *pā̃gḷā* or *pā̃gā* crippled, halt, *pā̃gā* also "bow-legged", cf. *pẽgṇẽ* to limp, *phegḍā* or *phẽgḍā* bow-legged; cf. also Skt. *phakka-* cripple, L.].

~Ka. *paṅga* the state of being astride or forked, Tu. *paṅgaḍipuni* to straddle, Te. *paṅga* fork; parting the legs wide. *paṅgaṭi* forked, *paṅgaṭi-kāḷḷu* bandy legs, *paṅgaṭiñcu* to straddle, sprawl. The original meaning "bowlegged" is preserved in Mar. and the phonetic irregularities there point to the word having been borrowed.

184. *pañjara-* n. cage, framework. MBh., etc. [also *piñjara-*id., L.; Hi. Nep. *piñjarā*, etc.].

~Ta. *pantar*, *pantal* shed, pandal, Ma. *pantal* temporary shed of leaves or wickerwork, Ka. *pandar*, *pandal* shed, trellis, Te. *pandiri, pandili*, shed, trellis, frame, Kui *panjari ḍēva* a bamboo corn-bin. Dental from palatal in South Drav.

185. *pañjī* f. the ball of cotton from which thread is spun, L. [cf. *piñjā* f. cotton, L.].

~Ta. *pañci* cotton, cotton plant, cotton cushion, KuT., etc., Ma. *paññi* cotton, Ka. *pañji*, *hañji* ball of cotton, cotton. The word may ultimately be of Austro-Asiatic origin, as also is Skt. *picu-*: cf. *TPS.*, 1946, p. 5.

186. *paṭaha-* m. drum, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *paṟai* drum, Ma. *paṟa*, Ka. *paṟe*, Kot. *par* id. For Skt. *ṭ* corresponding to South Drav. *ṟ*, cf. *kaṭī*.

187. *paṭu* m.f.n. sharp, pungent, acrid; shrill, intense; smart, clever; great or strong in, capable; cruel, hard.

~Ta. *paṭu* big, great (*kaitaiyam paṭu ciṉai, Naṟṟ.*, 178), cruel, severe (*paṭu tuyar* severe pain, KuT. 224). Ka. *peṭṭu* boldness, *peḍasu* hardness, harshness, *beṭṭu* firm, harsh, Te. *peṭuku* rough, *beṭṭu* hardness, Kui *peḍa* difficult, troublesome.

188. *poṭala-* m. *Trichosanthes diœca* [cf. *paṭu, paṭuka-* id.; *Nep.D.* s.v. *parwar*].

~Ta. *puṭal* snake-gourd, *Trichosanthes anguina, puṭalai, puṭōl* id., Ma. *puṭṭal, piṭṭal,* Ka. *poṭla, paḍala,* Tu. *paṭla,* Te. *poṭla* id.; Kui *puḍra* a kind of pumpkin.

189. *paṭṭana-* n. city, L. [usually *pattana-* id., MBh., etc., also *paṭṭa-* id., Daś. (*paṭṭanivasana-*), Pa. Pkt. *paṭṭana-*, Hi. Nep. *pāṭan*, etc.].

~Ta. *paṭṭiṉam* maritime town, small town, Paṭṭinap°., etc.; cf. *paṭṭi* cowstall; hamlet, village, *paṭṭam* sleeping place for animals, *paṭṭu* hamlet, small town or village, Ma. *paṭṭi* fold, pen, Ka. *paṭṭi* id.; hamlet, Te. *paṭṭu* abode, dwelling-place.

190. *paṭh-* to recite, read, *pāṭha-* recitation, reading.

~Caldwell, p. 585, suggests derivation from the Drav. words meaning to sing: Ta. Ma. *pāṭu* to sing, *pāṭṭu* song, Ka. Te. *pāḍu* to sing, *pāṭa* song, Go. *pārānā* to sing, *pāṭā* song, Malt. *pāṛe* to sing, bewail, Kur. *pāṛnā* to sing. If so we must begin with the noun *pāṭha-* = Ta. *pāṭṭu,* since there are no forms with short *a* in Drav., to match with the verbal root will have been invented.

191. *panasa-* m. bread-fruit tree [also *palasa-, phanasa-, phalasa-*, Pkt. *paṇasa-, phaṇasa-*; Skt. also *phalina-*, L.].

~Ta. *palā*, *palavu*, *pilā*, Ma. *pilāvu*, *plāvu*, Tu. *pela*, *pila*, *peja*, Ka. *halase*, *haḷasa*, Te. *panasa*, Kuvi *panha*, Malt. *panṛsa* id. Ultimately this word is probably Austro-Asiatic: L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, *JORM*., v, p. 163.

192. *paruṣa*- m.f.n. rough, hard, harsh [Pa. Pkt. *pharusa*-].

~Cf. Ta. *paru* rough, *parumai* roughness, harshness, Ma. *paṟu* rough, harsh, *paruku* rough surface, *parapara* roughly, *paruparuppu* roughness, harshness, Ka. *parige* roughness, *parparike* id. To be seperated from (*a*) *paruṣa*- grey-coloured, RV. (:*palita*-) and (*b*) *paruṣa*- knotty; a reed, AV. (:*paruṣ*-, *parvan*-).

193. *pala*- m. straw, L. [cf. *palāla*- id., MBh., etc.].

Cf. Ta. Ma. *pul* grass; hay, straw, Ka. *pul* grass, Tu. *pullu* a rush, a kind of grass, Tod. *pul* thatching grass, Te. *pullu* grass. There are parallels for the difference in vowels here (cf. *TPS*., 1945, p. 103); Kāśm. *pul* straw, preserves a form identical with South Drav.

194. *palaṅkaṭa*- L. shy, timid.

~Ka. *peḷagu* fear fright.

195. *pāṭaka*- m. a kind of village, half a village, L.

~Cf. Ta. *pāṭi* town, city; hamlet, *pāṭam* street of herdsmen, *pāṭakam* street, section of a village, Ma *pāṭakam* id., Ka. *pāṭi* settlement, hamlet, village, Tu. *pāḍu* (at the end of place-names) village.

196. *pāṭala*- m. *Bignonia suaveolens* (the tree bearing the trumpet-flower) [also *pāṭalā*: *pāṭalī* id.].

~Ta. Ma. *pātiri* trumpet-flower, Ka. Tu. *pādari* Te. *pādiri* id. In *Pāṭaliputra*- a Drav. word for "thicket" may be preserved: Ta. *putar*, *putal* bush, thicket, Ka. *podaṟ* bush,

thicket, thick tuft of trees, Tu. *pudelu̯* bush, shrub, etc. This would make better sense than Skt. *putra-*.

197. *pārāvata-* m. dove, MBh., etc. [Pa. *pārāpata-* *pārevata-*; *Nep.D.* s.v. *pārewā*.

~Cf. Ta. *puṟavu*, *puṟā* dove, pigeon, Ma. *piṟāvu*, *prāvu*, Tu. *puda* id.; Go. *paorish* the blue rock dove.

198. *pālana-* n. milk of a cow newly calved [Be. *pālan*].

~Ta. Ma. Ka. *pāl* milk, Te. *pālu*, Go. *pāl*, Kui. *pāḍu*, Kuvi *pālu*, Br. *pālh* id.

199. *pāli-*[1] f. row, line, range; margin, edge, dike [Pa. *pāḷi*, Nep. *pāri*, etc.].

~Ka. *pāṟ̤i* a row, line; regularity, regular or proper order, method, rule, Ma. *pāḷi* row, line, Te. *pāḍi* propriety.

200. *pāli*[2] f. lobe of the ear.

~Ka. *pāle* id. Kitt., No. 18; cf. *BSOAS*., XI, 336,

201. *pika-* m. Indian cuckoo, VS., etc. [Pkt. *pika-*, Piṅg., f. *pikī*, Desin., *piga-*, Kumārap.; Mar. *pik*].

~Preservation of *k-* in Pkt. and ModIA. indicates a borrowed word (probably with *-kk-* in the original), and according to Śabarasvāmin it was a word used by Mlecchas. Compare with A. Master (*JBBRAS*., v, 110), Ka. *pika* (*Cuculus. indicus*), *pikal-akki* Madras bulbul (cf. also *pikkuḷike* n. of a bird), Te. *pikili*, *pigili* the hill bulbul. Of these Ka. *pika* is ts., but the others are native and contain the Dravidian base from which the Skt. word is derived.

202. *picchā* f. calf of the leg, Var. [cf. *picaṇḍikā* id.].

~Cf. Tu. *poṭṭe* (<**počče*) Te. *pikka* (<**pička*), GoM *pīhā* (<**pīsā*) id., etc., *BSOAS*., XI, 347.

203. *piñjaṭa-* m. the concrete rheum of the eyes, L. [also *piñjūṣa-*, *piñjeṭa-*, *peñjūṣa-*, *paiñjūṣa-* id., L.].

~Ka. *piccu* slimy impurities of the eye, rheum, *pisaru* filth of the body, rheum of the eye, Tu. *peñci* filth, dirt, Ma. *piḷa* rheum of the eye, Brah, *pich* id., etc. (cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 355).

204. *piṭaka-* n. boil, blister, Car. [also *piṭṭaka-*, Divyāv. 210, 14, and *biṭaka-*/*viṭaka-*, L.].

~Cf. Tu. *puṭla*, *poṭla* pustule, blister, *puḍi* sore, ulcer, Go. *bōṭṭā* blister, Kui *poḍosi* boil, blister, *poṭkori* blister, *āḍipuṭi* small-pox pustule; *BSOAS.*, XI, 354.

205. *piṇḍī* f. Aśoka tree, L.

~Ta. *piṇṭi* id., Muruk°. 31, etc.

206. *piṇyāka-* m.n. oilcake, MBh., etc. [Nep. *pinā*].

~Cf. Ta. *piẓi* to squeeze, press out, *piṇṭi* oilcake, L., Ma. Ka. *piẓi* to wring, squeeze, Ma. *piṇṭi* what is squeezed, wrung out, dregs, refuse, sediment, Tu. *puṇḍi* oilcake, *puṇ ṭuni* to wring.

207. *pitta-* n. bile, AV., etc.

~From the Drav word meaning "green, yellow", Ta. *pai*, *pacu*, *pacc-*, etc. (originally **picc-*), cf. *BSOAS.*, XI, 345.

208. *pittala-* n. brass, bell metal, L. [and *pītala-*, L.]

~Ma. *piccāḷa* brass, Ta. *pittaḷai* from the same Drav. word meaning "yellow"; see above.

209. *pillika-* m. chick, young of birds, *Mānasollāsa*, ii, p. 255 [cf. Pa. *pillaka-* the young of an animal, Pkt. *pilua-* id., Mar. *pil* a young animal, *pilū* id., Sgh. *pilavā* young of an animal, Hi. *pillā* puppy].

~Ta. *piḷḷai* young of animals; of birds (KuT. 92), and certain reptiles, Ma. *piḷḷa* child, infant, Ka. *piḷḷe* child, young

of animals, Te. *pilla* GoM. *pilā* id. Cf. J. Bloch, *Langue Marathe* s. v. *pilū*; P. C. Bagchi, *IHQ.*, 1933, p. 262.

210. *pīta-* m.f.n. yellow, GṛS., Up., MBh., etc.

~From the Drav. word for yellow: see *pitta-* and *BSOAS.*, XI, 345.

211. *pīlu-* m. a worm, L. [cf. ° *prū* in *kaṭaprū* worm, L., *puṇḍra-* m. a worm, L., *pulaka-* m. a kind of insect or vermin, L., *phullaka*-worm, L., Pa. *puḷava-* worm, maggot, Hi. *pillū* worm, *phūl* maggots hatched in meat].

~Ta. Ma. Ka. *puḻu* worm, maggot, Tu. *puri*, Te. *purugu*, Kui *pṛīu*, Go. *puṛī*, Brah. *pū* id. Kitt., No. 63.

212. *puṭṭ-* to be small, Dhātup. [Nep. *puṛko* dwarf].

~Ta. *poṭi*, *poṭicu* anything small or minute, Ka. *puṭa*, *puṭṭa*, *puṭṭi* small, short, Tu. *puṭṭa* small, little, diminutive, Te. *poṭṭi*, *poṭi*, short, dwarfish, Kur. *puḍḍā* short, *puḍḍnā* to be too small or short for, Brah. *paṭak* short, stunted.

213. *puṇḍra-* m. or n. a sectarian mark or spot [also *puṇḍa-* id., L.; cf. *puṇḍarīka-* n. a mark on the forehead; a kind of leprosy; a tiger].

~Kui *penḍra* in *penḍra krāḍi* leopard *(krāḍi* tiger*)*, Ta. *puḷḷi* mark, dot, speck (< **puṇḍḷi*) Ma. *puḷḷi* id., *puḷḷip-puli* leopard (*puli* tiger); cf. perhaps Ka. Te. *boṭṭu* sectarian mark.

214. *puṇḍarīka-* n. a lotus flower, RV.. etc.

~As the flower that grows in ponds (cf. *puṣkara)* perhaps based on a Drav. **puṇḍari* water, lake, pond; cf. Ta. *puṇari* sea, Ma. *puṇal* water, and further Ta. Ma. *puṉal* Ka. *ponal*, water, river.

215. *pulaka-* a flaw or defect in a gem, L.

~Cf. Ka. *peḷavu* a flaw (Ta. *piḷavu* a split).

216. *pulāka-* m. n. shrivelled or blighted or empty or bad grain, Mn., MBh., etc. [Pa. *pulaka* shrivelled grain, Pkt. *pulāga-*, *pulāya-* id.; cf. also Skt. *pūlya-* an empty or shrivelled grain of corn, AV.; further Mar. *pol*, *phol* a hollow grain etc.].

~Cf. Ka. *poḷḷu* hollowness, emptiness, Te. *pollu* the empty ears of corn; chaff; trash, useless thing or word, *polluvaḍu* to become useless, to decay, Kui *polgu* husk, chaff, bran, Go. *poll-* (Kōi dialect, *LSI.*, iv, 549), Golāri *pholkā* (ib. p. 390), Naikī *polle* (ibid. 572) Brah. *pōlō* hollow empty.

217. *puleya-* m. N. of a people in W. India (see Kirfel, *Bhārata-varṣa*, Index).

~Ta. *pulaiyaṉ* an aboriginal caste on the Āṉaimalais and other hills of S. India; an outcast, or low-caste person in general. Ma. *pulayan* N. of a caste of rice slaves formerly saleable; an outcast in general, Ka. *poleya*, mod. *holeya* N. of a servile caste; cf. Ta. *pulai* uncleanness, pollution, Ma. *pula* Ka. Tu. *pole* id. It is possible that this element is also found in Skt. *pulinda-* N. of a forest tribe, *púlkaka-*, MS. 1.6.11, *pulkasa-*, MBh., etc., *paulkasa-*, VS., SBr., N. of despised mixed tribe [cf. also Skt. *bukkasa-*, L.; Pkt. *pukkusa-*, *bokkasa-*], *pulika-* N. of a savage tribe, Kalpadruk. 206, 36; possibly also in the names of the Ṛṣis *Pulaha-* and *Pulasti-* who seem hardly to be of Aryan origin.

218. *puṣkara-* m. pond, lake, R. (SundK. xi, 6, *haṃso yathā rāṭati puṣ- karasthaḥ)*, n. water, SBr; lotus flower, AV., etc. [also *puṣka-* pond, tank, Bhoj. Uṇ. 2.2.5, *puṣkariṇī* pond, Pkt. *pokkhara-* water; lotus, *pokkariṇī* pond, Mar. Hi. *pokhar* pond, tank, lake].

~Ta. *poykai* tank, pond, Ma. *poyka* pond, water pool; cf. Ka. *bugge*, Te. *bugga* spring, fountain, Ka. *bagarage*

water-hole. The primary meaning of Skt. *puṣkara-* is "pond", the secondary meaning "lotus" ("pond-flower"), then *puṣkariṇī* is formed on this latter meaning. Ta. *-y-* in *poykai* can represent an earlier sibilant.

219. *pūga-* m. the *Areca catechu* called the betel-nut tree, Suśr., etc.

~Cf. Te. *põka (Areca catechu)*, Ta. *pākku, pāku,* Ma. *pākku.*

220. *pecaka-* m. owl, R., etc.

~Cf. Kur. *peccā* a kind of owl.

221. *pelava-* m.f.n. delicate, fine soft, tender, Kālid., etc.

~Cf. Te. *pila* thin, lean slender, Tu. *pili* dry, thin, light

222. *poṭā* a hermaphrodite, or woman with a beard, Hcar., a female servant or slave.

~Ta. *pēṭu* female of birds and certain animals; hermaphrodite, *pēṭi* hermaphrodite, Te. *pēḍi* eunuch, hermaphrodite, *pēḍe* a beardless man, etc. (cf. *TPS*.. 194, p. 109). The change *e*>*o* is not infrequent dialectally in Drav. after an initial labial: Tu. *poṇṇu* female: Ta. *peṇ*, etc.

223. *pota-* a young animal or plant (*mṛga-p.°*, *cūta-p°*, etc.), MBh., etc.

~Ta. *pōttu* sapling; tender branch or shoot, Te. *bōda* the young of a bird, Kui *podeli* sapling, Kuvi *pota pōda* girl, *pōdipōda* boys and girls.

224. *phaṇa-* m. the extended hood of a serpent, MBh., etc. [also *phaṭa-*, *phaṭā*, *phuṭa-*, *sphaṭa-*. *sphaṭā* id., Pkt. *phaṇa-*, *phaḍā*, Hi. *phan*, etc.].

~Ka. *peḍe* the expanded hood of a cobra, Te. *paḍaga*, Ta. *paṭam* id.; Ta. *pai* hood of a cobra; (vb.) to spread as the hood of a cobra.

225. *phal-*, *phalati* to split, cleave, break, MBh., etc. [whence *phalaka-*, *phalahaka-* plank, board, lath].

~Ta. *piḷa* to split, be cleaved; tr., split, cleave, rend, *piḷava* cleft; piece, slice, *piḷāccu* lath, Ma. *piḷakka* to split, cleave, *peḷi*, *poḷi* chip, Ka. *piḷigu* to break, crack, burst, Tu. *pulcvu* crack *poliyuni* to be broken, Kur. *palknā* to cut in lengths, to split.

226. *phalgu-* m.f.n. weak, pithless, unsubstantial, useless, VS., etc.

~Cf. Ka *poḷḷu* hollowness, emptiness, unsubstantialness; trash, worthless stuff, Te. *pollu* empty ears of corn, chaff; useless, vain; trash, useless thing, Kui *polgu* kusk, chaff, etc.

227. *phuṭṭaka-* a kind of cloth, Divyāv.

~Ta. *puṭṭam* cloth, Te. *puṭṭamu* id.; cf. Ta. *puṭaivai* garment, Ma. *puṭava* id.

228. *baka-* m. crane, MBh., etc. [Nep. *bakullo*].

~Ta. *vakkā* white stork, *Ardea nivea*, *vaṅkā* id., Te. *vakku* crane.

229. *bakula-* m. *Mimusops elengi*, MBh., etc. [also written *vakula-*; Skt. *makula-*, *makura-* id., L., Hi. *maulsarī*].

~Ka. *pagaḍe*, *pogaḍe*, Te. *pogaḍa* id. Secondary voicing in the Sanskrit as opposed to the Drav. word. Ta. *vakuḷam*, Tiṉaim. 24, Ka. *vakuḷa*, *bakuḷa*, etc., are tss. Ta. *makiḻ* id., Tiruvāym. is probably adopted from Skt. since Skt. *makula-* also means "bud", as does *makiḻ*. Skt. *m-* is a secondary development from *b-*/*v-*, and appears later. It is a characteristically Dravidian change (*BSOAS*., XI, 351-2).

230. *baṇḍa*– m.f.(*ā*)n. maimed, defective, crippled, AV., ŚrS. [Cf. also (1) Skt. *vaṇṭa*– tailless, Gaut., (2) Skt. *būṭa*– lopped (of ears), Schmidt, *Nachträge*, (3) Pkt. *boḍa*– shaven-headed (Piṇḍaṇijjutti), *voḍa*–, *voḍha* (i.e. *b*–)=*chinna-karṇa-puccha*–, Hāla 550, Comm., Mar. *boḍkā* bald, without horns, (4) Mar. *bhūḍā* bare, without horns, Si. *bhuḍo* toothless, Pj., La. *bhoḍā* id.]

~Ta. *vaṟukkai* baldness (**vaṇḍ*–>**vāṟ–vaṟ*–), Kur. *baṇḍā* without tail, docked; Ka. *bōḍu* a toothless man, *bōḍi* a toothless woman; one who is bald or destitute of hairs, *bōṟu* bald, shaven; leafless, Tu. *bōḍubāyi* toothless mouth, *bōru* bald, Te. *bōḍu* id. Cf. *muṇḍa*–.

231. *balakṣa*– m.f.n. white, TS., etc. [also written *v°*–],

~Caldwell, p. 574, and Kittel, No. 408, compare Ta. *viḷakku* light, lustre, *veḷiccam* id., Ka. *beḷaku*, Te. *velugu* id. There is, however, in Skt. an alternative form *palakṣa*–, VS., in view of which it is perhaps better to compare Ka. *paḷakane paḷaccane*, *paḷañce* glitteringly; brightness, pureness, Ta. *paḷicc–eṉal* glitteringly, Ma. *paḷuṅṅuka* to glitter, Te. *paluka* paleness, whiteness, and to regard the *b*– of *balakṣa*– as an instance of secondary voicing.

232. *ballāla*– n. pr.

~Ta. *vallāḷaṉ* a mighty man, Ka. *ballāḷ* a mighty man, *ballāḷa* n. of a country and its people.

233. *biḍāla*–[1] m. cat, Mn., MBh., etc. [also *birāla*–, *bilāla*– id., L., Pkt. *biḍāla*–, *birālaa*–, Nep. *birālo*].

~Assuming *bir*– to be original, the radical syllable is the same as that of the Drav. word for cat: Ta. Ma. *veruku*, Ka. *berku*, *bekku*, Go. *warkār*, Nahali (*LSI.*) *berīvu*, Malt. *berge*, Kur. *berkhā*. J. Bloch, *BSL.*, xxv (1925), p. 14.

234. *biḍāla-* ²eyeball, L.

~Cf. *viṟi* to open the eyes; (sb.) eye, eyeball, variant from *miṟi*, Ma. *miṟi* eyeball, pupil of the eye; cf. Ta. *miṇṭai* the apple of the eye.

235. *bilma-* n. slip, bit, chip, RV. ii, 35, 12.

~From the Drav. root *viḷ-* to split: Ta. *viḷavu* cleft, crack; vb. to split, *viḷ*, *viḷḷu* to crack, split, Ma. *viḷḷu* to crack, burst open, *viḷḷal* a hollow rent, *viḷḷu* a crack, aperture. From the same root *bila-* hole, *TPS.*, 1946, p. 23.

236. *bṛgalá-* n. fragment, BĀU.

~Cf. Ka. *biri* to burst, crack, be split; sb. bursting, a fissure, crack, *biriku* a cleft, fissure, crack, *biraku*, *birku*, etc., id., Tu. *biriyuni* to crack, *birke* crack, chink, Te. *viriyu*, *viṟugu* to break, go to pieces. Skt. *bṛgala-* = Drav. *birugal* with the common suffix *-al* added to the vb. *birugu* (< *virugu*).

237. *bhaṇḍi-* f. cart, Hem. Uṇ. 608 [Pkt. *bhaṇḍī*, *bhaṇḍiā*].

~Ka. *baṇḍi* a wheel; a bandy, cart, carriage, Te. *baṇḍi* cart, Ta. *paṇṭi*, *vaṇṭi*, *vaṇṭil*, Ma. *vaṇṭi*, *vaṇṭil*, Tu. *bhaṇḍi* id. The word seems to be originally Kanarese, whence lws. in Skt. Pkt., and alao in Te. (*b-*) and Ta. Ma. (*p-*/*v-*).

238. *bharata-* ¹ m. actor, dancer, tumbler, Yājn., etc.

~In view of the close connection between the two professions, this word may be compared with Ta. *parattai* courtesan. The masculine form *parattaṉ* is given the meaning of "profligate, debauchee", but must also have designated the males of the prostitute caste, and in view of their stage activities his functions must have been similar to those of the *bharata-*.

239. *bharata-* ² N. of a barbarian tribe, L. (=*śabara-*).

~Ta. *paratar*, *paratavar* inhabitants of maritime tracts, fishing tribes, Ma. *paravan*, f. *paratti* id.

240. *bhilla*- m. N. of a mountain tribe, Kāv., Kathās.

~Probably "bowmen"; cf. Ta. Ma. *vil* bow, Ka. *bil* bow, *billa* bowman. Caldwell, p. 518; Kitt., No. 209.

241. *bhūka*- hole, L. (cf. also Mar. *bhok* hole, etc., *Nep.D.* s.v. *bhwāṅ*].

~Ka. *bokke* any round small hole made by rats, etc., Te. *bokka* hole, orifice, aperture, Tu. *bonku* hollow, void. Kitt., No. 162 (comparing also Skt. *bhūka*- fountain, with Ka. *bugge* id.)

242. *bhṛṅga*- m. a species of large black bee, Kāv. Pur.

~Cf. Kui *brūnga* a large black hornet, *bṛūki* hornet, *būrnga* id.

243. *magguśa*- m. mongoose, Bhoj. Uṇ. 753 [also *madguśa*-, Hem. Uṇ. 538; Pkt. *maṃguso*, *muggaso*, Mar. H. *maṃgūs muṃgūs*, Sgh. *mugaṭi* id.].

~Ta. *mūnkā* a species of mongoose, Ka. *muṅgi*, *muṅgisi*, *muṅguli*, *muṅguri*, Tu. *muṅguli*, Te. *muṅgi*, *muṅgisa*, Go. *mungus* id. K. Amṛta Row, *IA*., 46 (1917), p. 35; cf. *BSOAS*., XI, 334.

244. *maṅkú*- stupefied, ŚBr. 5.5.4.11 [not "shaking, vacillating" (MW. after BR.); also "blotch", L., *durmaṅku*- obstinate, L., Pa. *maṅku*- confused, stupefied, *dummaṅku*- id., Buddh.S. *madgubhūta*-, Divyāv.].

~Ta. *makku* to become dull, dullness, *maṅku* to grow dim, lose lustre, Ma. *maṅṅuka* id., Ka. *maṅku* dimness, obscurity, *maggu* to grow dim or faint, Te. *makku* to fade, lose lustre; (sb.) dirtiness, foulness.

245. *maṅgula–* n. sin, Kāv.

~From Drav. *mank–/–g–*, above. For the suffix cf. Ta. *maṅkulam* cloudiness, murkiness.

246. *mañju–* adj. beautiful, lovely, charming, pleasant, sweet, MBh., etc. [also *mañjula–* id.].

~J. Block (*BSOS.*, V, 741) compares Ta. *mañcu* beauty. This is not recorded early and might therefore be from Skt. The old form is *maintu* might, strength, beauty, desire, love, and the relation of *maintu* to *mañcu* is the same as that of *aintu* "5" to the popular form *añcu*. As the old form cannot be derived from Skt., the word must be originally Dravidian.

247. *maṭacī* grasshopper, locust, Chānd Up 1, 10, 1. [Wrongly "hail", Śaṅkara, cf. G. A. Jacob, *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 510.]

~Ka. *miḍice*, *miḍite*, etc., grasshopper, locust Te. *miḍuta* id., Tu. *moṇṭe*; (with *v–*) Ma. *viṭṭil* Ta. *veṭṭukkiḷi* K.B. Pathak, *IA.*, 1913, p. 235; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures* (Calcutta, 1919), pp. 26-7; J. Block, *BSL.*, xxv (1924), p. 15.

248. *maṇḍ–*, *maṇḍati*, *maṇḍayati* to adorn, decorate.

~Ta. *maṇṇu* to wash, to clean; to anoint; to adorn, beautify, decorate; to polish, perfect, finish, *maṇ* sb. ornament, decoration. J. Bloch, *BSOS*, V, 740.

249. *maṇḍa–* m. n. the scum of boiled rice; the thick part of milk, cream [Nep. *māṛ*].

~Ta. *maṇṭi* sediment, dregs. settlings, Ma. *maṭṭu* dregs, lees, sediment of oil, Ka. *maḍḍi*, *maḍḍu*, *miḍḍe*, Tu. Te. *maḍḍi* id.; Malt. *menḍi* rice-water. Cf. (with *v–*) Ta. *vaṇṭal* dregs, Ka. *banḍalu* id.

250. *maṇḍala–* n. circle, disc, ring, globe, ŚBr., etc.

~From a Drav. *maṇḍ- to be bent: Ta. *maṇṭi* kneeling, Ka. *maṇḍi* what is bent, the knee; also *maṇ-* in Ka. *maṇi* to bend bow; sb. bending, a bow, *maṇagu* to bend; with vowel *u/o*: Ta. *muṭaṅku* to bend, *muṭaṅkal* being bent as a bow, *muṭalai* ball, globe; a twist in the fibres, as of firewood, Tu. *moḍaṅkuni* to bow, bend. These represent an original base *moṇḍ-*, the nasal having been lost, and Ta. <**moṇḍale*, corresponds completely with the Skt. word.

251. *matkuṇa-* an elephant without tusks, L.

~Ta. *mokkai* bluntness, Tu. *mukka* deformed, Te. *mokka* blunt, pointless, *mokkaḍi*, *mokkaḍīḍu* an elephant with short tusks.

252. *mandurā* stable [also *mandu-* in the cpd. *mandupāla-* groom; cf. also *mandira-* n. house, dwelling; stable].

~Ta. *maṉṟam* hall of assembly; court of justice; cow-stall; house, *maṉṟu* id., Ma. *mannam*, *mannu* a place of judgment or assembly, Ka. *mande* pen, fold; herd, *mandu* a hamlet of Todas.

253. *marīci-* f. a ray of light, RV., etc.

~Cf. Ka. *miṟugu* to glitter, flash; sb. glitter, shine lustre, *merugu* shine, lustre *meṟe* to shine glitter *meṟasu* to cause to shine, Tu. *mereyuni* to shine, *mere* display, *merpu* lustre, Te. *meracu* to glitter, *meṟapu* lustre, *meṟugu*, *meṟumu* to glitter.

254. *marka-* monkey, Bh.P. [usually *markaṭa-* id., VS., etc.; Nep. *mākal*. To be distinguished from Skt. *markaṭa(ka-)* spider and its derivatives].

~Ma. *moṅṅa* a monkey, cf. *mocca* a light-coloured monkey, Ka. *maṅga* monkey, Tu. *maṅgè* id., Kui *maka* id. An *r* has been assimilated in the Drav. words.

255. *masṛṇa-* adj. soft, smooth [cf. *masina-* well ground, finely pounded, L., Pkt. *masaṇa-*, *masina-* soft, *masiṇia-* polished, Nep. *masinu*; also *maṣmaṣā- karam*, AV., *mṛsmṛ-sākṛ-*, MS., *maṣam* (v.l. *maṣim*) with caus. of *kṛ-*, SānkhGrS., all meaning "to grind, pulverize", *masiṃ-karoti* id.]

~Ka. *masa* whetting, rubbing, *masagu* to rub, *mase* to rub, grind polish, Go. *masītānā* to sharpen, etc. J. Bloch, *BSOS*., V, p. 741.

256. *masūra-* m. pulse. lentils, VS., etc. [also *masura*. *masarā*, L.].

~Ta. *mutrai* pulse or any other leguminous plant; pigeon pea, dholl, Patiṟṟup°., etc., Ma. *mutira* horse gram. Ta. Ma. *-t-* is out of an original sibilant, cf. Ta. *nutal* forehead: Ka. *nosal*, etc. There is frequent confusion between *a* and *u* in Drav.

257. *mahilā* woman female, Hit. Sāh. [also *mahīlā*, L., *mahelā*, Nalac., *mehalī*, *mehalā* *mehilā*, Kalpadru; Asoka (Girnar) *mahiḍā*; Pa. *mahilā*, Vin., Pkt. *mahilā*, Sattas.].

~Ta. *makaḷ* daughter woman, wife, *makaṭu* id., Ma. *makaḷ* daughter, Tu. *magaḷu* id.

258. *mācala-* m. crocodile, L.

~Ka. *mosaḷe* crocodile, Te. *mosali*, Tu. *mudalé*, Ta. *mudalai* id. Kitt., No. 71, L. V. Rammaswamy Aiyar, *Educ. Rev*., 1932, pp. 28-31. Cf. *musali*.

259. *māḍi-* m. palace, L. [also *mālikā* a whitewashed upper-storied house, Pa. *māḷa-* pavilion, hall (Buddh.S. *māla-*, *māḍa-*), Pkt. *māla-*, Mar. *māḍī*, *māḷā*, etc].

~Ta. *māṭam* storied house, mansion, palace, PuN. 53, 67, etc., Ma. *māṭam* a house with an upper storey, Ka. *māḍa* a

large building, *māḍi* an upstair house, a palace, Tu. *māḍu* the roof, Te. *māḍugu* a storied house or building.

260. *mālā* wreath, garland, GṛŚrS., MBh., etc. [also *mālya-* n. id., GṛŚrS., etc.; a flower, L.; Hi. *māl* garland, etc., Sgh. *mala* flower].

~Ta. *mālai* garland, Ma. Te. *māla* Ka. *māle* id. Ta. *mālai* occurs in the earliest literature (PuN. 60, 76) and Ka. *māle* is given as one of the *tatsamas* (Kitt. s.v.), both of which facts speak in favour of Drav. origin. This is further supported by the Ta. verbal form malai to wear as a garland, PuN. 12., etc. (also *milai* id , AN. 182, etc.) The word is further connected with Ta. Ma. Ka. *malar* flower.

261. *mā́ṣa-* m. a bean, RV., etc.

~Ta. *moccai* Hyacinth bean, *Dolichus lablab*, Ma. *mocca Dolichos tetraspermus.* Ultimate connection is probable with the radical syllable of Ta. *mutirai*, Skt. *masūra-*, *mudgá-*, q.v.

262. *mā́sara-* m. n. a particular beverage (*takramiśritam sūkṣmayavacūrṇam* acc. to Sāyaṇa on TB. 2.6.11.3).

~Cf. Ta. *mucar* buttermilk, curds, *mōr* id., Ma. *mōr* buttermilk, Kā. *mosar*, *mosaru*, *masaru*, Tu. *mosaru* id. (cf. *TPS.*, 1945 p. 115). Possibly a vṛddhied form based on **masara-*.

263. *múkha-* n. mouth, face, RV., etc. [cf. *Nep.D.* s.v. *mukh*, *muhuṛā*/Pšt. *max*, Par, Orm. *mux*].

~Ta. *mukam* mouth, face, Ma. *mukam* face, front, mouth, Ka. *maga* id., Tu. *moga* front, *mugaṇu* id., Te. *mogamu* face, mouth. Gt. p. 53 (cf. *mū* in front), Kitt., No. 24 (cf. Ka. *muk²* front), Bloch, *BSL.*, xxv, p. 18 (cf. also Ta. *mūkku* nose, and related words; there are similar words in AA. languages).

264. *muṭ*- *moṭati*, *muṭati*, *moṭayati* to crush, break, DhP. [also *muḍ*-, *moḍati*, *muṇṭ*-, *muṇṭati*].

~Ta. *muṭṭu* to dash against, butt, assault; sb. battering, assaulting, *muṭṭikai* jeweller's small hammer, Ma. *muṭṭuka* to dash against, knock, butt, *muṭṭi* hammer, Ka. *moṭṭu* to rap with knuckles or fist, Te. *moṭṭu* id.

265. *muṇḍa*- m.f.(ā)n. bald, lopped, hornless, MBh., etc. [Pa. *muṇḍa*- bald, shaven, *kaṇṇa-muṇḍa*- with cropped ears, Pkt. *muṇḍa*- bald; cf. *Nep.D.* s.v. *muṛo*].

~Cf. Ta. *mōṟai* hornless, defective, *moṭṭai* bald, shaven, blunt, *maṭṭai* baldness, *moṇṇai* id., *maṟu* blunt, bald, bare, *maṟu kūṟai* bobtail, Ma. *moṭṭa* a bald head, Ka. *moṇḍu* maimed, blunt, *mōṭu* the state of being deprived of the point, short, stumpy, Te. *moṇḍi* maimed, amputated, blunt, Tu. *moṇḍu* blunt. The word is ultimately connected with *baṇḍa*- q.v., since initial *m*- and *v*- are often interchangeable in Dravidian.

266. *mudgá*- m. *Phaseolus mungo*, VS., etc.

~Probably for **muzgá*- (cf. *madgū*-: Wack. i, 155) with the same radical element as in Skt. *masūra*- (q.v.): Ta. *mutirai*.

267. *murungī* *Moringa pterygosperma*, Suśr. (v.l. *muraṅgī*).

~Ta. *muruṅkai*, *Moringa pterygsoperma*, Indian horse-radish tree, AN. 167, etc., Ma. *muriṅṅa*, Ka. *nugge*, *nuggi*, Tu. *nurige*, *nurge*, Te. *munaga* id. *BSOAS*., XI (1945), p. 609.

268. *muralī* flute, pipe [and *muralikā*; Hi. *murlī*, etc.].

~Cf. Ta. *mural* to make a sound, *muralvu* soft sound, as of a lute, Ma. *muraḷuka* to hum, etc., *muraḷi* flute, pipe, Tu. *mureluni* to creak as shoes, Ka. *mure*, *more* to hum, etc.

269. *mulālī* a kind of edible lotus, AV. 4.34.5 [cf. also *mṛṇāla-* n., *mṛṇālī* f. the edible, fibrous, root of some kinds of lotus, Pa. *muḷāla-*, *muḷālī* the stalk of the lotus, Pkt. *muṇāla-*, *muṇālī* id.].

~Ta. *muḷari* lotus, AN. 163, etc. Probably from the same root that appears in Ta. *muḷai* to sprout, germinate, Ka. *moḷe*, Tu. *muḷeyuni* id., Te. *molaka* germ, sprout, shoot, *molacu* to sprout.

270. *musalī* house-lizard, L., alligator, L. [Cf. also *mṛdura-* id., Apast.]

~Ta. *mutalai* crocodile, Ma. *mutala*, Ka. *mosaḷe*, Te. *mosali* id. Kitt., No. 74; Bloch, *BSOS.*, V, 739. Cf. *mācala-*.

271. *mūkaka-* frog, Yaśast. ii, 308.

~Kur. *mū<u>kh</u>ā* frog. The word must be ancient in Kuru<u>kh</u>, since it has undergone the change *k* > <u>*kh*</u> which Kur. and Malt. share with Brahui.

272. *muṭa-* basket or bundle, Kāraṇḍ. [also *mūṭa-* ibid., *mūṭaka-* Campak., *mūḍaka-*, Pañcad., *moṭa-* bundle, Divyāv.; Pa. *mutoli* bag. Pkt. *mūḍa-*, *mūḍha-* a certain measure of corn, Hi. *mūṭhā* bundle, Nep. *muṭuro*, etc.].

~Ta. *mūṭṭai*, *mūṭai* bundle, Ma. *mūṭa* load, bale, Ka. *mūḍe* a straw bundle, *mūṭe* a bundle of cloth, grain, etc., Te. *mūṭa* bundle, Tu. *muḍi* a bundle of rice, *moṭṭe* a bundle, Kuvi *munta* (F), *mūta* (S.) (*sic*).

273. *mūrvā* *Sanseveria roxburghiana*, bowstring hemp, Suśr., VarBṛS., etc. [Cf. Pa. *maruvā* id.]

~The radical syllable is seen in Ta. *maral* bowstring, hemp, *muraḷ* id., and with different suffixes in Ka. *marugu* (> **maruvu*: Pa. *maruvā*) and Ta. *mañci*, Ka. Tu. *mañji* id. (< **marñii*).

274. *meka-* goat, L. [cf. *mē-kr̥* to bleat].

~Ka. *mēke* she-goat, *mē* the bleating of sheep or goats, Te. *mẽka* goat, Malt. *mēqe* to bleat. Kitt., No. 75.

275. *meṭa-* m. a whitewashed, storied house, L. [Pkt. *meḍaya-*; Guj. *meḍī*, *meḍo* an upper storey, etc.].

~Te. *mēḍa* a house of two or more stories, Ta. *mēṭai* raised floor, platform, terraced house. Cf. *māḍi*.

276. *rolamba-* m. a bee, Kāv. [also *lolamba-*, L.]

~Ta. *nuḷampu* gnat, mosquito, cf. *nilampi*, *noḷḷal nuḷḷal* id., Ma. *nuṟampu* gnat, Ka. *noṇa*, *noḷa*, *noḷavu* a fly, Go. *nule* mosquito. A change *n-* > *l-* > *r*, as in *rarāṭa-*, see next.

277. *lalāṭa-* forehead, AV., etc. [also *rarāta-*, VS., etc., *niṭala-*, *niṭāla-*, *niṭila-*, Kāv. Daś, Pa. *nalāṭa-*, *lalāṭa-*, Pkt. *ṇalāḍa-*, *ṇilāḍa*, *ṇaḍāla-*, *ṇiḍāla-*, *lalāḍa*, Hi. *lilāṛ*, Si. *nirāṛu*, Mar. *niḍal*, *niḍhāl*, Sgh. *naḷala*, Nep. *nidhār*].

~Ta. Ma. *nutal* forehead, Ka. *nosal*, Tu. *nesalu̥*, *nasuḍi*, Te. *nuduru*, *nosalu* id., Malt. *nitlu* the crown of the head. *BSOAS*., XI, 615,

278. *luṭh-*, *luṭhati* to roll, Kāv. Pur.

~Ta. *uruṭṭu* to roll, tr. (intr. *urul*), Ma. *uruṭṭuka*, Ka. *uruṭu* intr., *uruṇṭu* tr. and intr. to roll. Skt. has *l-* for original *r* and the initial vowel is lost. From the same source, and with *-ṇḍ-* alternating with *ṭṭ* < *-ṇṭ-*, as usual, Sanskrit has *luṇḍikā* ball, *luṇḍīkr̥ta-* rolled up. Cf. Ta. *uruṇṭai* ball, Tu. *uruṇḍulu* round, etc.

279. *vañjula-* m, *Calamus rotang*, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *vañci* common rattan of South India, *Calamus rotang*, Ma. *vañci*, *vaññi*. The word is common in the early Tamil literature, and without doubt native.

280. *vandhya-* m.f.(ā)n. barren, sterile [also written *bandhya-;* Pa. Pkt. *vañjha-*, Hi. *bā̃jh*, etc.].

~Ka. *bañjaru* waste land, *banje* barren, Tu. *banjara* sterile, barren, *banjè* a barren woman, Kui *vanji* barren, sterile, *vanjuri* a barren woman. Cf. also Ka. *bar̲aḍu* barren, sterile (with suffix *ḍu* and *r̲* out of original affricate), Tu. *baraḍu* id. From the same Drav. base Skt. *vaśā* in the sense of "a barren woman".

281. *vambha-* m. bamboo, L. [Mar. *bā̃bū* id.].

~Ka. *bambu* a large hollow bamboo, *bombu* id., Tu. *bambu* id., Ma. *vampu* a bamboo, chiefly as a measure of palm wine, Ta. *vampu* curved bamboo pole of a palanquin.

282. *varaka-* m. *Phaseolos trilobus* [Pa. *varaka-* id., J.].

~Ta. *avarai*, *Dolichos lablab*, KuT. 82, etc., Ma. *avara*, *avarakka* country bean, Ka. *avare* a species of pulse, *Phaseolus radiatus*; the pulse, called *Dolichos lablab*, *avari*, *amare*, *amari*, *āvare*, *āvari*, *āvarike* id., Tu. *abare* the common country bean, Tod. (Metz) *evar* bean, Te. *varige* the pulse termed wild kidney bean. Elision of the initial vowel in Skt. as in Telugu.

283. *varaṭa-* m f. (*ā* and *ī*) a kind of wasp.

~Ta. *vaṇṭu* bee, Ma. *vaṇṭu* a black bee, wasp, beetle. Loss of *-r-* by assimilation is common in Dravidian.

284. *varuka-* m. a species of inferior grain (*kudhānya-*), Suśr.

~Ta. Ma. *varaku* common millet, *Paspalum scrobiculatum*, Ka. *baragu* a kind of grain, *Paspalum frumentaceum*; Indian millet; a kind of hill grass of which writing pens are made.

285. *valabhi-* f. ridge of a roof-top, MBh., etc. [also *valabhī*; *vaḍabhi-*, °*-ī*, Pa. *vaḷabhi* roof, Pkt. *vaḍahī*, *valahī* ridgepole, thatch, veranda].

~Cf. Ta. *vaṭimpu* border, edge; eaves, edge of a roof, *vaṭimpuk·kaṟi* transverse piece in roofing, *vaṭimpu piṭi* to tie cross pieces on a roof; cf. also *viḷimpu* rim, edge.

286. *vali–* f. wrinkle; a line or stroke made by fragrant unguents on the person [Pa. *valī* f. line, fold, wrinkle, streak, row, Pkt. *vali* wrinkle, Mar. *vaḷ* line, row, rank].

~Ta. *vari* line, streak; ornamental marks on the breast; lines on the palm of the hand, Ma. *vari* line, row, Ka. *bari*, *bare* lines or stripes, Tu. *baripuni* to scratch, *bareta* line, mark; wale, stripe. IA. *l* for *r*.

287. *vallūra–* n. dried flesh, Mn., etc., hog's flesh, L.

~Ta. *vaḷḷuram* flesh, meat, muscle, PuN. 219, etc.

288. *vāṭya–* m. fried barley, Car. [cf. *vaṭaka–*, *vaṭṭaka–* a round cake made of pulse fried in oil or butter].

~Cf. Ta. *vaṟu* to dry, fry, parch, toast, *vaṟal*, *vaṟukkai* frying, Ma. *vaṟa* frying, *vaṟukka* to fry, grill; Ta. *vaṟṟu*, Te. *vaṭṭu*, etc., to dry up.

289. *vāśī* f. a sharp or pointed knife or a kind of axe, adze, chisel, RV., AV., MBh., etc. [also written *vāsī*; Pa. *vāsi* f. sharp knife, axe, hatchet, adze, Pkt. *vāsī* id.; cf. *Nep.D.* s.v. *basulo*].

~Ta. *vai* sharp, *vaci* to cut; (sb.) a sharp-pointed stake, *vāy* the edge of any cutting instrument, *vāycci* adze, Ma. *vāy* the edge of a sword, *vācci* a carpenter's adze, Ka. *basi* sharp, Te. *vasi* nail; thorn, Kuvi *vahini* sharp, Kui *vaspa* to sharpen, *vau* an edge, a cutting edge. Out of these Skt. *vāśī* clearly corresponds directly to Ta. *vāycci*, Ma. *vācci*.

290. *vithurá–* m.f.(ā)n. staggering, tottering, RV., AV., precarious, AitBr. [cf. *vithurgyáti* staggers, totters, RV., and *vyath–*, *vyathate* to tremble, be agitated, RV., etc.; Class. Skt., Pa. Pkt. *vidhura–* distressed, perplexed].

~Ta. *vitir* to tremble, to shake, *vetir*, *vitaṟu* id., *vitalai* trembling, shivering, *vitumpu* to tremble, *vituppu* trembling, Ka. *bedaṟu* to be agitated, alarmed, Tu. *bedaruni* to be alarmed, Te. *veta* distress, affliction.

291. *vidula-* m. *Calamus rotang*, Vās.

~Ta. *veḷir*, *vetiram* bamboo, Ka. *bidir*, *biduru*, Tu. *beduru* Te. *veduru*, Go. *waddur*, Kol. (Haig) *vētūr* id.

292. *vīraṇa-* m. *Andropogon muricatus*, MBh., etc. [also *vīriṇa-* m.n., ŚBr., GṛŚrS., Pa. *bīraṇa-*, Pkt. *vīraṇa-*].

~Ta. *viṟ̈al*, *Andropogon muricatus*, Ka. *biṟ̈il* id.

293. *veḍā* f. boat, L. [also *veṭi-*, L.; also written *beḍā*; Pkt. *beḍa-* m., *beḍā*, -°*ī* f. id.].

~Ta. *ōṭam* boat, Ma. *ōṭam* boat, ferryboat, *ōṭi* a large seaboat, long and narrow, Ka. Te. Tu. *ōḍa* boat.

294. *vellaka-* an alloy of iron and silver, AŚ. ii, 14.

~Cf. Ta. Ma. *veḷḷi* silver, Ta. *veḷḷai* a silver coin, Ka., *beḷḷi* silver, Tu. *boḷḷi*, Te. *veṇḍi* id.; Ta. *veḷ* white, bright, etc.

295. *vellantara-* m. *Dichrostachys cinerea*, Bhāvap.

~Te. *viṭatter*; *viṭattal*, *viṭattēr*, etc., Ka. *eḍataṟi*, Te *veṇuturu*, *veluturu* id By popular etymology Skt. has *vīrataru-*. *vīradru-* id.

296. *vrīḍ-*, *vrīḍate* to be ashamed, MBh., etc. [Pkt. *viḍia-* ashamed, *vil-* to be ashamed (*viliūna*, Satt. 375)].

~Ta. *viḷi* to be overcome with shame, *viḷivu* shame, *veṭku* to be ashamed, *veḷku* id., *vaṭku* id., *veruḷ* to be perplexed, bewildered; to shy, Ma. *veruḷuka* to be frightened, confused, *veḷka* to be ashamed, afraid, Ka. *beḷkaṟ* to become afraid, *biḍiya* shame, bashfulness, Tu. *biḍe* shame, modesty.

297. *śalaka- m.* spider, L.

~Ta. *cilanti* spider, *cilampi* id., Ma. *cilanni*, Ka. *seladi*, Te. *celādi* id. Hem. Uṇ. 323 gives *śilamba-* = *tantuvāya-*. If *tantuvāya-* means "spider" here (alternatively it could be "weaver"), it can be compared with Ta. *cilampi*.

298. *śaṣpa-* n. grass, VS., etc.

~Ma. *cappu leaves*, Ka. *sappu, sappu* foliage, vegetable, herb, greens, *toppala, tappala* all green leaves of plants in general, Tu. *coppu, tappu, sappu* leaf, foliage, greens, *tappoliyuni* to be covered with foliage. Cf. *BSOAS.*, XII (1947), p. 140.

299. *śāka-* m. teak, MBh., etc.

~Ta. Ma. *tēkku*, Ka. *tēgu*, Te. *tẽku, ṭẽku*, Tu. *tekki*, Go. *tēkā-marā*, Kol. *tēk*, Drav. *t-* frequently represehts an original affricate or sibilant (*BSOAS.*, XII, 142). Compare further Ka. *cēgu* the heart or core of a tree; essence, strength. Skt. *śāka-* n. greens, is a different word; with it compare Kur. *cēkhel* greens.

300. *śimba-* m. pod, legume, Suśr. [also *śimbi*, - °*ī* id., *śimi-*, L. id. [v.l. *śami-*], Pkt. *simbā*, Nep. *simi*; cf. also Nep. *chimi* pod].

~Ka. *cippu, sippu, cimpi, cimpe, simpi, simpu, simpe* oyster-shell, a portion of the shell of a coconut, the case of the brain, skull, Te. *cippa* shell, coconut shell, oyster shell, Tu. *tippi* coconut shell, *cippi* id.; oyster-shell, Ta. Ma. *cippi, ippi* coconut shell, oyster shell. From the same Drav. family also Pa. Pkt. *sippī* oyster shell (*BSOAS.*, XII, 138), and also probably, in spite of the difference of vowel, Skt. *śambu-, śambuka-, śambukka-, śambūka-* a bivalve shell.

301. *śirīṣa-* m. *Acacia sirissa*, ShaḍvBr., ete.

Ta. *uṟiñcil*, *Acacia sirissa*, *ucil*, *uñcil*, *tuṟiñci*, *tuṟiñcil* id. Ka. *sirsala*, *sirasala sirasa* id. Cf. *BSOAS*., XII (1947), p. 140

302. *śitalā* f. small-pox, the goddess inflicting small-pox, L.

~Ta. *titalai* yellow spots on the skin, cf. *titti* id. etc. *BSOAS*., XII, 140, and s.v. *sidhma–*.

303. *śuṇṭh–*, *śuṇṭhayati* to dry, become dry, Dhātup. [Whence *śuṇṭhi–* dry ginger, Suśr., etc.]

~Ta. *cuṇṭu* to dry up be evaporated by heat, Ka. *suṇḍu* to evaporate: cf. Ta. *cuṭu* to burn, etc.

304. *śuṇḍā–* f. an elephant's trunk, MBh., etc.

~Ta. *toṇṭai*, *toṇṭalam* elephant's trunk, Ka. *suṇḍalu*' *soṇḍalu*, *suṇḍil*, *toṇḍalu* id.; cf. Ta. Ma. *cuṇṭu*, Ka. *cuṇḍu* beak, and above, s.v. *tuṇḍa–*.

305. *śūlā* f. prostitute, Vās, Kuṭṭanīm., etc. [Pkt. *sūlā*].

~Ka. Tu. *sūḷe* prostitute, Ta. *cūḷai* Ma. *cūḷa* id. K. Amrita Row, *IA*., 46 (1917), p. 35; A.N. Upadhye, *ABORI*. xii (1931), p. 283.

306. *śaivala–* m.n. duck-weed, *Blyxa octandra* [also *śaivāla–*, *śevala–*, *śevāla–* id.; *śīpāla–* id., RV.; Nep. *sīwāli*, *simāli*, *sẽwāli*, water-weeds, green slime on water, moss on damp walls; *chimāl* grass or lichen growing on a tree.]

~The irregularities of this word show that it has been borrowed. Compare Ta. *civva*l seaweed.

307. *śmil–*, *śmilati* to wink, blink, Dhātup.

~Ta. *cimiṟ* to wink, blink, *cimiḷi*, *cimiṭṭu* id., Ma. *cimuṭu* id.; Ma. *cima* eyelid, etc., cf. *BSOAS*., XII, (1947), p. 138.

308. *sidhmá*-white-spotted, TS. [*sidhmā* leprosy, *sidhman*- *id*., *sidhmala*- leprous; cf. Mar. *śibẽ* a kind of leprosy]·

~Tu. *śiḍibu*, *śiḍubu* the pustule of smallpox, Ka. *cibbu*, *sibbu*, a whitish, reddish, or blackish spot on the body. Cf. *BSOAS*., XII (1947), p. 140.

309. *sīra*- m. n. plough, RV., etc.

~Compare possibly Ta. M. *ēr* plough, yoke of oxen, Ka. *ār*, *ēru* a pair of oxen yoked to the plough, Te. *ēru* a plough with the draught oxen made ready for ploughing, Go. *sēr* plough, Kui *sēru* a yoke of oxen Cf. Bloch, *BSOS*., VIII, 414; cf. also *BSOAS*., XII, 141.

310. *sūc*-, *sūcayati* to point out, show, indicate, MBh., etc. [Cf. *sūci*- vision, seeing, L., *sūcipattra*- index.]

~Cf. Te. *cūcu* to see, observe, note, mark, *cūcāya* hinting, insinuation, indication, *cūpu* vision, *cūpiñcu* to show, point out, Ka. *cūpu* vision *sūsike* the act of showing forth or exhibiting.

311. *sphoṭa*- m. boil, tumour, Suśr. [Pkt. *phoḍaa*-].

~Tu. *poṭla* pustulue, blister, Go. *bōṭṭā* blister, Kui *poḍosi* boil, blister. Cf. *piṭaka*-.

312. *hāphikā* gaping, yawning, L.

~Cf. Te. *āvaliñcu* to yarn, gape, Koḍ. *hāwaḷe* yawning, Malt. *āwole* to yarn, Brah. *āvāning* id.

313. *hālu*- m. a tooth. Uṇ. 1.1 Schol.

~Apparentiy a late adaptation of Med. Mod. Ka. *hallu* tooth < *pallu*.

314. *huḍukka*- m. a kind of small drum [also *huḍukkā* f.].

~Ta. *uṭukku*, *uṭukkai* a small drum tapering in the middle, Ma. *uṭukka* a tabor resembling ad hour glass, Te. *uḍuka* a small drum of the shape of an hour glass, Tu. *uḍuku* a kind of small drum.

315. *heramba–* a buffalo, Mālatīm.

~Ta. *erumai* buffalo, Ma. *erima*, *eruma*, Ka. *emme*, Tu. *erme*, Go. *armī* id. (Maṛ. dial. *ermī*). Gt., p. 519; Kitt., No. 85; Bloch, *BSOS.*, V, 740.

SOME DRAVIDIAN WORDS IN SANSKRIT

1

Skt. *aṭṭa-* m. according to B. R. has the meaning of a tower or strong point on a wall serving for defence. In the same sense we also have *aṭṭaka-*, *aṭṭāla-*, *aṭṭālaka-*. From this the meaning 'watch-tower' also develops.

Compare Te. *aṭṭaḍi* a fortified place in front of a building, and, in a more general sense, Ka. *aḍḍal* obstacle, hindrance. These words are members of a numerous Dravidian series beginning *aṭ-*, *aṭṭ-*, *aḍ-*, *aḍḍ-* and meaning generally 'obstacle, obstruction; athwart, across; to obstruct, close':—

Ta *aṭai* to be obstructed; to obstruct, block, close, fasten, *aṭaippu* shutting, stopping, obstruction, *aṭaiccu* to shut close, Ma. *aṭayuka* to be shut, shut up, enclosed, Ka. *aḍa* the state of being across, transverse or in the way, obstructing, obstruction, impediment, *aḍavu* an impediment, anything to obstruct, e.g. a stone placed, *aḍe* to shut, lock, obstruct, stop the passage; to be enclosed, barred, shut up, *aḍḍa* the state of being across, etc., *aḍḍayisu* to move obliquely or obstructingly, *aḍḍi* an obstacle, opposition, delay, Tu. *aṭaka*, *aṭakāvu* obstacle, hindrance, *aḍaka* id., *aḍepuni* to shut, close, *aḍēke* obstacle, hindrance, *aḍḍa* obstance, hindrance; across, athwart, *aḍḍaṇa* a shield, *aḍḍali* a pole placed across, *aḍḍi* obstacle, stoppage, *āṭaṅka* hindrance, obstacle [=Ka. *āṭaṅka*, Te. *āṭaṅkamu* id.], Kui *aḍa* a screen, an intervensing object, *aḍa giva* to screen, intervene, intercept, Brah. *aṛ* obstruction, entanglement, *aṛī* obstacle, obstruction.

The alternation *ṭṭ/ḍḍ* points to the fact that the double consonant in Dravidian is the result of an original consonant group; the forms with single *-ṭ-*, *-ḍ-* are in accordance with the usual Dravidian practice of shortening double consonants under certain conditions.

Other words derived from this source are Skt. *aḍḍaṇa-* [Lex.] shield [Kitt : no. 249 and IA. i, p. 236], and Pkt. *aḍḍa-* crosswise, athwart. The latter word is well represented in modern Indo-Aryan: Hi. *āṛā*, Be. *āṛ* across, etc. [See Nep. Dict. s.v. *aṛbhaṅge*].

2

Skt. *adhara-* lower, in combination with *oṣṭha-* lip, may form a compound *adharoṣṭha* or *adharauṣṭha*[1] lower lip, as opposed to *uttaroṣṭha-* or *uttarauṣṭha* upper lip. Further *adhara-* m. is by itself used in the meaning 'lower lip' and in accordance with this sense the compound *adharoṣṭha-* is sometimes used in the sense of 'upper and lower lip'. Finally *adhara-* comes to be used in the classical poetry in the sense of 'lip' in general as well as 'underlip' specifically. This development of meaning is not known in the earlier language, and there is no trace of similar development in the case of *uttara-* applied to the upper lip. The influence of some Dravidian words is to be taken into account here: Ta. *utaṭu* lip Ka. *odaḍu*, *odaru* id. Of these, Ka. *odaru* lip, is very similar to the Skt. word, especially when it is borne in mind that Drav. short *o* is a sound that does not exist in Skt. and is normally replaced in loanwords by short *a*. This being the case the influence of the Dravidian word may be held responsible for the peculiar development of meaning in classical

1 Cf. *Pāṇini*, vi. 1, 94, *Vārtt.* 5.

Sanskrit by which *adhara-* comes to be used in the sense of 'lip'.

3

Kittel [IA. i[1872] p. 236; not repeated in his Kanarese Dict.] compares Skt. *alasa-* lazy, tired, faint [SBr., etc.] with Ka. *alasu* to be weary, considering the Skt. word to be derived from Dravidian. A survey of the Dravidian words related to Ka. *alasu* makes it quite clear that he is right. The following words belong to this numerous group :—

Ta. *alacu* to be exhausted, to become weary, *alacal* laziness, languor, *alu* to be weary, fatigued, tired, by overwork or care, *aluppu* weariness, exhaustion, *alaicu* to be lazy, *alaical* laziness, *alaiyal* languishing, droping, swooning, Ma. *alayuka* to be wearied, *alasal* fatigue, *aluppu* weariness, Ka. *ala* fatigue, weariness, *alapu*, *alavu* id., *alasu* to become weary, to be relaxed, tired; [*sb.*] weariness, idleness, *alasaṭe*, *alasike* fatigue, lassitude, Tu. *alasụ* old, worn out, *alasalụ*, *alasige* fatigue, lassitude, Tu. *alasụ* old, worn out, *alasalụ alasige* fatigue, weariness, *alapuni* to be fatigued, *aleyuni* to be weary. Te. *alayu* to be tired, fatigued, weary, *alayika* fatigue, *alā ta*, *alakuva* id., Kui *alāri* fatigue, *laha* languor, laziness, indolence; [adj.] lazy.

This word-family is native to Dravidian and widespread in it. Since it can hardly be doubted that the Sanskrit and Dravidian words belong together, and since on the other side the Sanskrit word has no Indo-European etymology, it is clear that the Skt. word is derived from Dravidian.

Correspondences in Uralian may be suggested for these words, bearing in mind that in South Dravidian initial *l-* is not tolerated and a prothetic vowel develops before it

[BSOAS. xi [1944], p, 350]:- Fi. *lahiju* lazy. *laiska träge*, faul, mussig, Est. *laisk* g. *laiza* faul, *träge*, LpN, *laikke* piger, ignavus; cf. SamJu. [Ca.] *laek* faul. Wilhelm Thomsen [BFB 193] derived Fi. *laiska*, Est. *laisk* from Lett. *laisks*, but the borrowing could be the other way round.

Ta. *alacu* besides meaning 'to be exhausted, weary', means also 'to shake, be agitated'. It seems that there are two families of words of somewhat similar appearance, one meaning 'to be tired', and the other meaning 'to shake'. The words meaning 'to shake' are as follows:-

Ta. *alaṅku* to move, shake, swing, be agitated, *alaṅkal* wreath for the hair, waving ear of corn, *alakku* to cause to move, shake, *alacu* to shake, be agitated *alantalai* disturbance, confusion, *alamaru to* shake, tremble, be confused, agitated, to whirl. *alavalai* confusion of mind, agitation, *alukku* to shake slightly [tr] *aluṅku* to shake slightly [intr.], *alai* to wave, shake, play in the wind; [tr] to agitate; [sb] wave, billow, Ma. *ala* wave, *alaññuka* to be shaken, *alayuka* to fluctuate, be tossed, *alekkuka* to beat against, as waves on the shore, *alu* to shake, Ka. *alaku* to move about, shake, tremble, *alacu* to shake, *alasu* to shake or agitate in water, *alugu* to be agitated or unsteady, to move about, shake, *ale* to move about, shake, dangle; to roam about, wander; [sb.] a wave, billow, Tu. *alaṅkuni*, *alaṅguni* to shake, agitate, wave, move, *alacuni*, *alasuni* to move, shake, agitate, *alejuni alejjuni* to be agitated, disturbed, *aleyuni alevuni* to wander, roam, *aluguni* to move, shake, Te. *alãgu* to be displeased, upset, *alãcu* to tease, harass, *alãduru* grief, sorrow, *alamaru* to grieve, sorrow, *ala* wave.

From considerations of meaning these two groups should be kept apart, and where two individual forms coincide

they should be treated as homophones and separated accordingly.[1]

The second group also seems to have parallels in Finno-ugrian. Compare Fi. *laikka* leicht oder geschwind sich bewegen, *laikkua* schwanken, *laine* wave, Zyr. *laikal* schwanken, etc. [0. Donner, *Vergl. Wört* no. 1072]

Skt. *lahari* wave, billow, is probably derived from this source, although no exactly corresponding form is to be found in the available Dravidian evidence. Another Skt. word for 'wave' *kallōla* is to be explained as follows. Besides the words quoted above, we also find some with *-ll-* in place ol *-l-* which has presumably been introduced for the purpose of greater expressiveness: Ta. *allal* affliction, Ma. *alla* tumult, disturbance, Ka. *allari* the stale of being troubled, disturbed, Te. *allari* tumult, confusion; quarrel, riot, *allalāḍu, allallāḍu* to move, shake, tremble, *allāḍu* to shake, move, wave, toss about; Ka. *allakallōla, allōlakallōla* great agitation, as of water, confusion of the mind, tumult, disorder, disturbance, Te. *allakallōlamu* confusion, disorder, turmoil, hubbub. In Ka. *allōlakallōla* the latter element *kallōla* is an echo or jingle of a type common in popular and expressive speech in many Indian languages and otherwise has no independent existence. From *allōlakallōla* late Sanskrit has extracted the latter half and made it into an independent word, *kallōla-* wave. There is little doubt that Kanarese in particular out of the Dravidian languages is the source of the Sanskrit word.

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1. Ta. *alacu*[1] to be weary, Ta. *alacu*[2] to shake and so forth. Kittel does this for the Kanarese words. Note that Tamil has also a third word, *alacu*[3] meaning 'to wash, rinse'. This is connected with the following set: Ta. *alampu* to wash, rinse, *alavu* to spill, Ka. *alambu, alumbu, alabu, alubu* to rinse, wash, *alasu* to agitate in water as cloth for cleansing, Tu. *alambuni* to wash, *lumbuni* to plunge, wash, rinse.

4

Skt. *alga-*, *au* m. du, the groin is recorded only from one passage, VS. 25, 6 [=MS 3, 15, 6] where the commentators Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara explain *algau* as equivalent to *vaṅkṣaṇau*, *ūrusandhī*. There are some similar words with related meaning in Dravidian: Ta. *alkul* side, waist, middle, loins; pudendum muliebre, Ma. *alkīṭam* pedendum muliebre, Kota [Emeneau, Kota Texts i.p.164] *algalv* loins. The final *-l* in Ta. *alkul* is suffixal; cf. Ta. *maruṅkul* side, waist, beside Ta. *maruṅku* id. Note also Tu. *alle* the side, groin, hip, woich may be connected here.

5

The Indian theorists of the drama enumerate four kinds of style or manner [*vṛtti*], namely *kaiśikī* the graceful, *sāttvatī* the grand, *bhāratī* the verbal, and *ārabhaṭī* the violent-style. Of these the *ārabhaṭī vṛtti* is associated with scenes of violence, tumult, disorder, confusion, anger, fighting, and so forth.[1] It has four subdivisions which need not be detailed here. Such scenes are the fight between Mādhava and Aghoraghaṇṭa in the *Mālatīmādhava*, the scene of confusion when the monkey escapes in the *Ratnāvalī*, and the attack on Vindhyaketu in *Priyadarśikā*, Act. 1. Bharata describes this *vṛtti* as *ārabhaṭaprāyaguṇā* 'having mainly the qualities of an *ārabhaṭa-*[1] Apart from this passage and lexicons depending on it the word *ārabhaṭa-* does not seem to bc recorded. Its

1. Māyendrajālasaṅgrāmakrodhodbhrāntādiceṣṭhitaiḥ | samyuktā vadhabandhādyair uddhatārabhaṭī smṛtā, Sāhitya-darpaṇa vi, 132–3; cf. Bhar. N.S. 23, 57–8, Dasarūpa ii, 94–8, Nāṭyadarpaṇa 108, Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakosa, pp. 57–8, Keith, Sanskrit Drama, pp. 327–8.

meaning according to Hemacandra[1] is 'active, enterprising', and this meaning is also given by Abhinavagupta.[2] On the other hand it is explained in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[3] as equivalent to *uddhata*–, that is to say 'a violent, turbulent man'. With this the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakosa* is in agreement, since it paraphrases Bharata's *ārabhaṭaprāyaguṇā* by *samuddhata-prāyaguṇā*. Of these two meanings given, the second is more appropriate, since it corresponds exactly with the nature of the *ārabhaṭī vṛtti* as described and illustrated from the dramas. The Petersburg Dictionary follows Hemachandra in defining *ārabhaṭa* as an enterprising man, and derives the word from *ārabh*– 'to undertake [something]'. This is not satisfactory since for the reasons already given the meaning of *ārabhaṭa*– must have been 'a violent, turbulent man', and not 'an enterprising man'. Formally it is unsatisfactory since there is no suffix –*ṭa* in Sanskrit which makes nouns from verbal stems. Further it is significant that it did not occur to Sanskrit authors who looked for an etymology for the word, to connect it with *ārabh*–. They sought other explanations and clearly were oblivious of a connection which the modern lexicographers have taken for granted. Their explanations, of course, are no better than the one we have already rejected.

The Dravidian languages provide an obvious etymology for this word. This is to be found in the following words:–

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1. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 285 Comm., ārabhaṭāḥsotsāhā analasās teṣām iyam ārabhaṭī.

2. Commentary on Bhar. N.S. [ed. GOS] i, p. 20; iyartiti arā bhaṭāḥ sotsāhā analasās teṣām iyam ārabhaṭī.

3. Loc. cit.; āreṇa pratodakena tulyā bhaṭā uddhatāḥ puruṣā ārabhaṭāḥ.

Ka. *ārbaṭa* crying aloud, roaring, a loud noise, *ārbāṭa* id., Tu. *ārbaṭa, ārbhaṭa, ārbhaṭe* a fearful noise, uproar; a joyful cry, triumph, Te. *ārbhaṭamu, ārbhaṭi* cry roar, uproar Ta. *ārppāṭam* uproar, loud cry; boisterous behaviour. These words are very similar in form and meaning to the Sanśkrit word, and its origin is obviously to be sought here. The Dravidian words are derived from a common root *ār* meaning to shout which appears as follows:-

Ta. *ār* to shout, roar, bellow, *ārppu* loud, tumultuous noice; exultatation, battle, Ma. *ārkuka* to cry aloud, roar, shout, Ka. *ār* to cry aloud, *ārpu, ārbu* crying aloud, Tu. *ārkuni* to cry out, shout, Te. *ārcu* to cry aloud, shout, roar, Kui *ārpa* to call. Compare also Mar. *āraṇeṃ* to utter its cry, to crow - the cock, which looks like a loanword from Dravidian.

6

Skt. *ukhā* f. cooking pot, pan is a common word, particularly in the Brāhmaṇa literature. An isolated instance of *ukha-* m. in the same sense is also quoted. Besides this the dictionaries also give *ukha-* m., *ukhā* f. in the sense of 'a particular part of the upper leg'. This second word has no connection with the first in meaning and they must be regarded as two homophones. The latter word is of very infrequent occurrence, the dictionaries giving only three instances - *Lāṭy.* Śr. S. [*ukhasya*], *Caraka-saṃhitā, Śārīrasth* 7, 11 [*ukhe* n.du. in a list of the parts of the body] and *Gaṇapātha* on Pāṇini iv. 1.56 [*ukhā* f.] Commentators on the three texts explain the word respectively as follows: [1] *kaṭisannikṛṣṭajaghanapradeśe ukhaḥ,* [2] *ukhe iti kakṣasya pārśvayor nimnabhāgau,* [3] *ukhā=sphik.* A portion of the body in the region of the hip is indicated by this evidence. To these

passages we must add RV. iv, 19.9, where *ukhacchid* 'one who breaks his *ukha*' is used in the sense of a lame person [Windisch, *Festgruss on Böhtlingk*, p. 115]. Finally we may note *ukhe* in KS xxxi, 2 [=MS iv, 1.3], which Geldner, in the notes to his translation of the above Ṛgvedic passage, quotes and considers to mean a part of the body [tasyókhe asraṃsetām 'his [Prajāpati's] *ukhas* collapsed'].

On the etymology of *ukhā*[1] see Walde-Pokorny i, 24. The second word appears to be of Dravidian origin. Compare the following words: Ta. *ukkam* waist, *ukkal* side, *ukkalai* the hips, *okkal* hip, side of the body, *okkalai* id., Ma. *ukkam* middle, hip, side, *ukkal* id., *okku* hip, loins, Te. *okka* the hip, waist.

Skt. *uñch-* means 'to glean'; with *pra-* [*proñch-*] 'to rub, wipe, wipe out, efface'. The latter word has persisted throughout the successive stages of Indo-Aryan: Pa. *puñchati* to wipe off, clean, Pkt. *puṃchai*; for the modern IA derivatives see Nep. Dict. s.v. *puchnu*. Comparing the meanings of Skt. *uñch-* and *proñch-* it is clear that a more general and original meaning is preserved in the compound than in the simple verb. The latter has developed a secondary and specialised meaning 'to glean' from an originally more general meaning 'to wipe, scrape; to wipe up, scrape up'. This verbal root can be derived from some Dravidian words meaning 'to rub, scrape, etc.'; Ta. *uriñcu* to rub, wear, grind, scrape, Ka. *ujju* to rub, make fine by rubbing, *urdu, uddu id*. The Tamil word corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit word. Since the *-i-* in Ta. *uriñcu* is in all probability a svarabhakti vowel, an original **urñcu* is to be presumed. The Sanskrit word is derived from a form with *-r-* assimilated; such an assimilation is found also in Ka. *ujju*, which in addition has lost the nasal

element. Ta. *uriñcu* < **urñcu* is to be analysed into a root *ur* + a suffix *-ñc-*. The root appears in many words: Ta. *urai* to rub, *uracu* to rub against, Ma. *urasuka* to rbu, *urekka* id., Ka. *orasu* to rub, scrape, wipe, Tu. *uresuni* to rub, polish, Te. *oracu* to rub, etc.

The meaning 'to glean' in the case ef Skt. *uñch-* develops as a result of its use in connection with *śila-* m. in phrases like *śilān apy uñchatah* [Manu. 3.100] 'of one scraping up the gleanings' [*lūnakedāraseṣadhānyāni śilās tāny apy uccinvataḥ*, *Kullūka*]. This word also appears to be of Dravidian origin, compare Ka. *cillu* smallness, Te. *cilla* bits, fragments [Brown]; Tu. *cillu* a small piece, Ta. Ma. *cillu* id., Ka. *cillaṟa*, Te. *cillara*, Ta. *cillaṟai* sundries, trifles odds and ends, small change, etc.

From this combination we get the *tatpuruṣa* compounds *śilōñcha-* and *śiloñchana-* 'gleaning'. The compound *śiloñcha-* then came to be misunderstood as a dvandva, so that is found sometimes in the masculine dual, and an attempt is made to distinguish *śila-* and *uñcha-* as two different kinds of gleaning [Manu x, 112, and Kullūka's commentary]. Another result of this misunderstanding is that the members of the compound are put the other way round in *uñchasila* [Lex.] 'gleaning'.

8

Skt. *kaṅká-*m. heron is recorded from the VS. onwards. Similar words meaning 'heron; crane' are common in the Dravidian languages, so that it may reasonably be assumed that the Sanskrit word is derived from this source:-

Ta. *kokku* common crane, grus cinerea; stork, paddy-bird, Ma. *kokku* paddy-bird, heron, *kokkan* id., Ka. *kokku*, *kokkare* crane, Tu. *korṅgu* crane, stork, Te. *koṅga* crane,

kokkera id., Kuvi *kongi* crane, Kui *kohko* paddy-bird, Brah. *khākhur* demoiselle crane. As there is no short *o* in Sanskrit, a short *a* is usually substituted in loanwords from Dravidian. The Sanskrit word therefore represents a Dravidian stem **koṅk*-. The alternation *kk* [Ta. *kokku*]/*ṅg* [Te. *koṅga*] represents original alternation *ṅk*/*ṅg*, the nasal being assimilated in the first form.

As evidenced by Tu. *korṅgu* an original -*r*- has been assimilated in most of these forms. This makes it possible to bring the following words into the same family: Ta. *kuruku* heron, stork, crane, Ma. *kuru* heron, *kuriyan* heron, paddy-bird, Go. [Lind] *koruku* a crane, cranes. Corresponding words are to be found in the Uralian languages, as follows: LpN. *guorgga* grus cinerea, Fi. *kurki* crane, MdM. *kargo*, E. *karga* id. | Sam. Ju. *karo*, *haru*, O. *kara*, K. *karo* id. [Paas. *Beitr*. no. 114, Leht. FUF. xxi, 11.] Compare also Sam T. *koka're* crane, with Ka. Te. *kokkera*, Brah. *khakhur*. In these latter words an *r* has been assimilated which appears in another loanword in Sanskrit. *karkarāṭuka* Numidian crane, *karkareṭu*, *karkareḍu*, *karkareḍuka* id. The simplest form of the word, which appears in Ma. *kuru* and the Sam. forms, is the basis of Skt. *karaṭu*, *kareṭu* Numidian crane. The suffixal element containing -*ṭ*- in the Sanskrit words is somewhat obscure.

There is also in Sanskrit a homophone *kaṅka*-m. meaning a kind of mango [Lex.=*mahārājacūta*]. This can be compared in the same way to Ta. *kokku* mango tree. According to the commentator on Tolkāppiyam, Coll. 40, this is a Tulu word. The actual form in Tulu at present is *kukku* mango. The word does not seem to occur in the other South Dravidian languages.

The Sanskrit dictionaries give also *kaṅkā* f. the scent of a lotus; a kind of sandal. Compare Ta. *koṅku* pollen; fragrance, odour.

9

Skt. *kara*-m. tax [Mn. MBh., etc] has no obvious connection in meaning with *kara*- in other senses. B. R. class it with *kara*-ray, beam, and derive it from √kṝ to strew, scatter, a derivation which is unsatisfactory semantically. A Dravidian etymology is available, as Tamil has a similar word, *kaṟai* tax, tribute [Cil. 23, 127]; cf. *kaṟavu* id. [Pe. TM]. These Tamil words cannot be derived from the Sanskrit word, as they have a transparent etymology in Dravidian, being derived from a verb meaning 'to milk'. Ta. *kaṟa* to milk, *kaṟappu* milking, *kaṟavai* milking; a milch cow, Ma. *kaṟakka* to milk, Ka. *kaṟe* to milk. The metaphor is natural and familiar in Sanskrit literature: *Saundarananda* ii, 19, *gām adharmeṇa na dhukṣat kṣīratarṣeṇa gām iva*, *Raghuvamsa i*, 26, *dudoha gām sa yajñāya, sasyāya Maghavā divam*. Compare also manu vii, 129:-

> Yathālpālpam adanty ādyam vāryokovatsu ṣaṭpadāḥ |
> tathālpālpo grahītavyo rāṣṭrād rājñabdikaḥ karaḥ ||

10

Skt. *karoṭa*-m., *karoṭi*-, *ī* f. is used in the sense of 'cup, bowl' and also in the sense of 'skull'. It is not a common word, nor recorded early. Pali has *karoṭi* f. in the same senses. Compare the following Dravidian words:

Ta. *ciraṭṭai* cocoanut shell, begging bowl, *caraṭṭai* id. [loc.] Ma. *ciraṭṭa* cocoanut shell, chiefly the lower half. These represent an original **kiraṭṭĕ* [cf. BSOAS. xi [1943] pp. 122 ff. A variant form, with *u* instead of *i* in the first syllable,

appears in Ma. *kuraṭṭa* nut, kernel; cf. Tu. *koraṇṭu* the kernel or stone of fruit. With *a* as variant in the first syllable, Ka. has *karaṭa* the shell of a cocoanut; cf. Mar. *karṭī* the shell of a cocoanut, a vessel made from it; skull. The vocalism of the Sanskrit word bears the same relation to that of Ma. *kuraṭṭa* as is found in comparing Go. *sawwōr* salt, *malōl* hare with Ta. *uvar*, *muyal*. The original meaning is 'nut, cocoanut', whence the meanings 'vessel' and 'skull' develop.

In Ka. *kaṇṭa* shell of a cocoanut the *-r-* has disappeared. There is also a whole series of words in Dravidian connected with the above and meaning 'nut', in which an *-r-* has been lost: Ta. *koṭṭai* nut, stone, kernel, Ma. *koṭṭa* kernel of fruit, Ka. *koṭṭe* the stone or kernel of fruit, *goṭṭa, goṟaṭe* id., Tu. *koṭṭe* the kernel of a nut, *goṭṭu* id., Kur. *goṭā* any seed which forms inside a fruit or shell, Malt. *goṭa* a seed or berry, Brah. *gaḍḍa* a fruit stone. The initial voicing in some of these words is, as frequently, a sign that an *-r-* was originally present.

That the words above can be analysed into root + suffix, is indicated by Ta. *kuru* nut [Loc.], Ma. *kuru* kernel, nut.

11

For 'mushroom, fungus' Sanskrit has *chattra-*, literally 'umbrella', also *chattrāka-*, *chattraka-*, and more poetically *ahicchatra* [*ka-*] lit. 'snake's umbrella'. Besides these words Manu and others have also *kavaka-* mushroom. This could be a Dravidian word corresponding in meaning to Skt. *chattra;* compare Ta. *kavikai* umbrella. The Tamil word is derived from a verb meaning to cover, just as Skt. *chattra-* is derived from *chad-*: Ta. *kavi* to cover, overspread, surround, cover with an umbrella, overshadow, *kavippu* covering,

canopy, umbrella; cf. *kavavu* to embrace, *kavai* to contain within oneself, to include, Ma. *kaviyuka* to be overflown, Ka. *kavi* to cover, overspread, *kavacu*, *kavicu* to cause to overspread, to put on, Tu. *kabiyuni* to overspread, as clouds, Te. *kaviyu* to spread, fall upon; cf. Ka. Tu. Te. *gavi* cave.

Kittel [Kann.-E. Dict., p. xxxii] derives from the same source Skt. *kavaca-* coat of mail, corset, jacket; bark of a tree.

This etymology appears unobjectionable. Words from the same root in a similar specialized meaning are found in Kanarese: *kavudi*, *kȧvadai* a quilted cover, *gavasaṇige* a cover, a wrapper, a cloth, a case, a sack; any cover or case, *gavasaṇi* id. A contracted form of this latter word is Ka. *gōṇi* sack, Te. *gōne* id., from which Skt. *goṇī* sack is derived. The native Kanarese grammarians count *gōṇi* as one of the 21 tatsamas, that is to say words which exist both in Kanarese and Sanskrit, but which they do not consider to be borrowed from Sanskrit.

12.

Skt. *karava-* m. *kavarī* f. a braid or fillet of hair, *kavarabhāra-* m., *kavarībhara-* m. a fine head of hair, *kavarapuccha-* m. f. [*ī*] n. having a tail resembling a braid, Pāṇ iv, 1.55, Vārtt. 2.

~Ta. *kavari* a chowrie [Naṟṟ 241, etc.], Ma. *kavaram* hairplait, *kavari* a woman with fine hair, Ka. *kabari*, *kavari* a braid or fillet of hair; a knot of braided hair, Tu. *kabari* the tufted hair of females.

The meanings given by the dictionaries vary between 'braid of hair' and 'tuft or knot of hair'. Probably the latter meaning should be given in all cases. That such is the meaning in Sanskrit for instance, is indicated by the com-

pounds *kavarabhāra-* and *kavarībhara-*. Kittel and Gundert treat the Kanarese and Malayalam words respectively as loans from Sanskrit. The opposite must be the case firstly because the Sanskrit word is comparatively rare and has left no trace in the modern spoken languages, whereas it is thoroughly established in all the South Dravidian languages, and secondly because the other Dravidian words cannot be separated from Ta. *kavari* which on account of its different meaning cannot be derived from Sanskrit. The two meanings of the Dravidian words are, of course, easily reconciled, and a good parallel is offered by Ta. *pittai* hair-bundle, etc. [BSOAS. xi [1944] p. 348].

The Skt. compound *kavarapuccha-*, which occurs only in the commentaries on Pāṇini, is to be viewed in connection with Ta. *kavari*, and must mean therefore 'having a bushy or tufted tail'. The meaning given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary, 'having a twisted tail or one resembling a braid' is misleading.

Another Dravidian word meaning 'coil, tuft' or bundle of hair' deserves mention here: Ta. *koppu* chignon, coil or hair, Ka. *koppu* a female's hair tied in a tuft, Te, *koppu* hair tied in a tuft worn at the back of the head, chignon, Kui *kopa* coil of woman's hair, Go. *kūpaṛ* the top knot of hair, the top knot of hair, Kur. *khopā* hair- bundle, chignon. This word has found its way into most of the modern Indo-aryan languages. See *Nepali Dictionary* s. v. *khop*[3]. The two words, *koppu* and *kavari* are connected ultimately. The addition of suffixes results frequently in the weakening of intervocalic eonsonants, so that *kopp+ari* would be expected to give **kovari*. The form *kavari* is explained by the fact theat th distinction between *o* and *a* is not rigdly preserved in Dravidian.

13

Skt. *kavala-* m.' a mouthful, morsel *kavalaya-* vb. to swallow, gulp down, devour, *kavaḍa-*, m. a mouthful of water pa. *kabala-*, *kabaḷa-* m. n. a small piece, ball of food, mouthful, Pkt. *kavala-*m. id. For ModIA forms see Nep. Dict. s. v. *kaũlā*.

The variation in Sanskrit between *l* and *d* points to an original ḷ which occurs in Pa. *kabaḷa-*. This *ḷ* also appears in Ta. *kavaḷam* morsel or mouthful of food, a word common in the literature [*Kurunt*° 170, Mullaip° 36, etc.]. A variant form *kavaṟam* is also found in Tamil [Kalit° 80]. The word is native to Dravidian, as shown by its connection with other words in those languages. Compare Ta. *kavvu* to bite, seize by the mouth as a dog, Kui *kavali giva* to chew the cud. In accordance with the usual consonant alternation, the *-v-* is weakened out of an original *-pp-*, and therefore the following words are etymologically connected: Ma. *kappu* to snap at, eat as a dog, Ta. *kappu* to gorge, cram into the mouth, Tu *kappuni* to eat greedily, Kui *kappa* to swallow, gulp, Kur. *k͟happnā* id.

14

Skt. *kulattha-* m. a kind of pulse, Dolichos uniflorus, Hi. *kulthī* id., etc. [Nep. Dict. s. v. *kurthi*].

Ta. *koḷ* horse-gram, Dolichos uniflorus [Puṟa͟n° etc.], Ma. *koḷḷu*, Tu. *kuḍu* id. The Dravidian words are equivalent to the first part of the Sankrit word. The second part of the Sanskrit word is rather obscure suffix which appears also in *asvattha-* Ficus religiosa, and with a different vowel in *kapittha-* Feronia elephantum.

15.

Skt. *kūṭa*- appears in the dictionaries with a bewildering variety of meanings. In fact there is a whole bunch of homophones bearing this form which need carefully separating from each other. As they are mainly derived from Dravidian, that will be done here, and the etymologies, as far as available, provided.

In the first place it is necessary to get rid of one of the meanings provided, that is 'the bone of the forehead with its projections or prominences, horn'. This meaning is given by B. R. for the following passages: RV. x, 102, 4, AV. 8, 8, 16, SB. 3, 8, 1, 15, AitB. vi, 24. The authority for this rendering rests solely on Sāyaṇa's commentary on the passage in SB; different renderings are offered by him in the case of RV. and AitB. passages. A study of the context in these four citations, and also in JB 1.49 shows that this rendering is unsuitable, and that in all cases the meaning is 'mallet' or 'hammer': see Geldner, Vedische Studien i, 137-9, and Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. x, 102, 4. Consequently Kittel's comparison (Kan-Eng. p. xx) of Skt. *kūṭa*- horn with Ka. *kōḍu* horn, Ta. *kōṭu*, etc., falls to the ground owing to the non-existence of such a meaning in Skt. It is possible that Sāyaṇa, a southerner, was influenced by Dravidian in his rendering of *kūṭa*- in the ŚB passage.

There remain the following homonymous words:-

[1] Skt. *kūṭa*- n. mallet; hammer RV., etc., *kuṭa*- n. a hammer, mallet for breaking small stones Lex., Pa. *kūṭa*- n. a hammer, Pa. *kūḍa*- n. stone hammer; in ModIA, apart from Sgh. *kuḷ* hammer, this word is preserved only in forms which represent an original compound **hastakūṭa*- [see Nep. Dict. s.v. hotro]. As regards the etymology of this word we

may reasonably follow Kittel [Kan.-Eng. Dict., p. xxxiii; cf. J. Bloch, BSOS. v, 738] who compares it to Ka. *kuṭṭu* to beat, strike, pound, and its correlates, whence also Skt. *kuṭṭ-*, *kuṭṭayati* to pound, etc., are derived [BSOAS. xi, 134]. Compare Ta. *kuṭṭu* to cuff, strike with the fists, *koṭṭu* to beat, strike, pound, *koṭṭi* a mallet, Ma. *koṭṭu* to beat, *kuṭṭu* to pound, Ka. *kuṭṭu* to pound, *koḍati* a wooden hammer, Tu. *kuṭṭuni*, *koṭṭu* a spade, Te. *koṭṭu* to beat, strike, Malt. *qoṭe* to knock, strike, break, Kur. *k͟hoṭṭnā* to break.

[2] *kūṭa-* n. part of a plough, ploughshare, body of a plough; Hi. *kūṛ* body of plough, Panj. *kuṛ* bottom of plough, La. *kuṟ* ploughshare. This word is not common in Sanskrit, and is quoted only from native lexicons; on the other hand it is quite widespread in ModIA. Superfically it might seem plausible to identify it with the last word, but as there are some similar words in Dravidian with exactly the same meaning, it is better to follow Kittel [Kann. Eng. Dict. p. xxxiii] and derive it directly from them. Compare Ta. *koru* bar of metal, ploughshare, Ma. *koṟu* ploughshare, Ka. *kuṟu guṟu* a bar of iron, a ploughshare, Tu. *koru* a bar of metal.

[3] *kūṭa-* n. summit, top, summit or peak of a mountain, *kūṭāgāra-* an upper room, apartment on the top of a house, *trikūṭa-*, *citrakūṭa-*, *gṛdhrakūṭa-*, names of mountains, *aṃsakūṭa-* the tip of the shoulder, *aksikūṭa-* the corner of the eye next to the nose,[1] Pa. *kūṭa-* pinnacle, top, peak, Pkt. *kūḍa-* top of a mountain, etc., Sgh. *kuḷ summit.*

∼Ta. *kōṭu* summit of a hill, mountain, peak, *kuvaṭu* top of a hill, peak; mountain, hill, Ma. *kōṭu* end, corner, *kuvaṭu*

1. *Akṣikūṭe* = *aksināsikayoh sandhī* (*Mitakṣ*. on Yājn 3.96), not 'the prominent part of the forehead above the eye' [MW. following B. R.]. Pali has *akkhikoṭi*-beside *akkhikūṭa-* which makes the meaning clearer.

hill, mountain top, Ka. *kōḍu* a point; the peak or top of a hill, Malt. *qōru* the end, the top as of a tree.

From the same source is derived Skt. *koṭi*- f. tip of a bow, tip, top, point, highest point, etc. The Dravidian words with a suffix -*i*, which are nearest to this, have suffered shortening of the first vowel: Ma. *koṭi* top, extremity, tip [of finger, tongue, nose, etc.], Ka. *kuḍi* a pointed end, a point, Tu. *koḍi* point, end, extremity, Te. *koḍi* tip, top; the end of point or flame.

[4] *kūṭa*- m. a heap, multitude, collection [*samūha*-], Pa. *kūṭa*- heap, accumulation, *sankārakūṭa*- rubbish heap; Or. *kuṛha* heap. The etymology of this word is correctly given by Kittel [Kan.-Eng. Dict. p. xxxix] who connects it with Ka. *kūṭa* collection, multitude, heap, a noun derived from the verb *kūḍu* to come together, assemble, etc. The relevant Dravidian words are as follows: Ta *kūṭu* to come together, congregate, assemble, *kūṭṭam* union, combination; crowd, flock, etc., Ma. *kūṭuka* to come together, meet, etc., *kūṭṭam* junction, assembly, flock, heap, Ka. *kūḍu* to join, etc., *kūṭa* joining, coming together; heap, multitude, assemblage, Tu. *kūḍuni* to meet, *kūṭa* assembly, Te. *kūḍu* to come together, *kūṭamu* meeting, union, *kūṭuva* heap, collection.

[5] *kūṭa*- adj. mfn. false, untrue, deceitful, sb. n. fraud, untruth, falsehood; frequent in cpds. like *kūṭasākṣin*- false witness, etc., Pa. *kūṭa*- n. falsehood, deceit, Pkt. *kūḍa*- id.; Mar. *kuḍā* false, treacherous and related words in ModIA. (J. Bloch, *Langue Marathe* p. 312). This word is connected with the following words meaning 'crooked' in Skt.: *kuṭ*-, *kuṭati* to become crooked or curved, *kuṭi*- f. curvature in *bhrukuṭi*- °*ī*, *kuṭika*- bent, crooked, *kuṭila*- bent, crooked; dishonest, fraudulent. All these words are derived from

Dravidian. The Dravidian words can conveniently be divided into those with a long vowel [whence *kūṭa*–] and those which have suffered a shortening of the radical vowel [whence *kuṭ*-].

(a) Ta. *kōṭu* to bend, be crooked; [sb.] crookedness, flexure, *kōṭṭam* bend, curve; crookedness of mind; bending from the path of justice, Ma. *kōṭuka* to be crooked, twisted, awry, *kōṭṭam* crookedness distortion, Kui *kōṇḍa* to be curly, bent, twisted, *gōṭoṟi* hooked, bent like a hook.

(b) Ta. *koṭu* crooked; unjust, wicked, etc., *kuṭa* curved, bent, *kuṭakkam* bend, curve, crookedness, *kuṭaṅku* to bend, *kuṭantai* curve, *kuṭavu, kuṭā* bend, curve, Ma. *koṭu* bent [*koṭuṅ-kai* Ka. kudu bent, crooked.

(6) *kūṭa*- n. a trap, snare for birds and wild beasts, Ram., etc.,[1] Pa. *kūṭa*-Pkt, *kūḍa*- id. At first sight this might seem to belong together with the last. It is better, however, to derive it directly from the following Dravidian words:-

Ta. *kūṭu* nest, bird-cage, coop, hive, Ma. *kūṭu* receptacle, nest, cage. Ka. *gūḍu* nest, dove-cot, cage; trap for catching wild animals, Tu. *gūḍu* nest, bird-cage, Te. *gūḍu* nest, cage, Go. *kūṭinj* a stone-fall trap, such as boys set for birds, Kuvi *kūda* [Fitzg., presumably *kūḍa*] a cage [made of bamboo], Kui *kīrenji* a cage, cage-trap.

(7) *kūṭa*-m., *kūṭī* f. a house, dwelling Lex. These are variants with a long vowel of the more usual forms with a short

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1. *kūṭa*-in AV. 8, 8, 16, the passage referred to above, is explained by some as meaning 'trap'. This is supported by the mention of *pāśa*- in the previous line, the two being often mentioned together. On the other hand the verb *han*- which is used with it points more in the direction of 'hammer, mallet.'

vowel, *kuṭa*-house, *kuṭi* °*ī* f. hut, cottage. These are derived from Dravidian; Ta. *kuṭi* hut, house, etc., BSOAS. xi (1943) p. 137. Compare also, in addition to the forms quoted there, Ta. *koṭṭil* shed, hut, cowstall, *koṭṭakai* shed with sloping roof, cowstall, marriage pandal, Ma. *koṭṭil* cowhouse; shed. barn, workshop; house, Ka. *koṭṭage* a stall or outhouse, Tu. *koṭṭa* a hut or dwelling of Koragars, Te. *koṭika* a hamlet, small village, *koṭṭamu* a stable for cattle and horses, *koṭṭāyi* a thatched shed. The Sanskrit lexicographers have also preserved a variant with the vowel *o*: Skt. *koṭa*-m. shed, hut.

(8) *kūṭa*-n. pot, pitcher Lex. More common is the variant with a short vowel, *kuṭa*-m. id. This is derived from Dravidian: Ta. *kuṭam* pot, Ka. *koḍa*, etc., BSOAS. xi (1943) p. 138.

(9) *kūṭa*- mf(ā) n. without horns, of an animal, AV, TS, etc., Pa. *kūṭa* id. This is possibly Dravidian. Compare Ta *kūṟai* that which is short, *kūṟaik-kiṭā* tailless he-buffalo, *kūṟaik-kompaṉ* ox with blunt horns, *kūṟaik-kai* maimed hand, *kūṟai-nari* a short-tailed fox, *kūḷe*, *kūṟe* stump, stubble.

16

Skt. *kūrpara*-m. the elbow, Suśr., etc., Pa. *kappara*-, Pkt. *koppara*- id.

~Ta. *kopparam* elbow, Ka. *koppara* shoulder-blade (Kittel, with question mark as to exact meaning), Te. *kopparamu*, *kopramu*, *kopru* id. The irregularity of the vowel of the first syllable is an indication that the IA words are borrowed. What connection, if any, exists between these words and Skt. *kaphoṇi* elbow, is not easy to say.

17

Skt. *kaurukuca*- mf(*ī*)n. appears as a hapax legomenon in *Pādatāḍitaka* v. 5, and its meaning 'given to grumbling' is made clear by the context:-

Na prāpnuvanti yatayo ruditena mokṣam
svargāyatiṃ na parihāsakathā ruṇaddhi |
tasmāt pratītamanasā hasitavyam eva
vṛttiṃ budhena khalu kaurukucīm vihāya ||

"Hermits do not attain salvation by weeping, and gay chatter does not bar the approach to heaven; therefore a wise man must laugh with cheerful mind, putting aside the habit of grumbling." The derivative form *kaurukuca*- presupposes a simple form from which it is derived; this must have been either **kurukuca* or **kurukucā*-. Such a form is not recorded in the Skt. dictionaries but a very similar word is found in Tuḷu: *kurukucci* grumbling, murmuring. The rare Sanskrit word is therefore in all probability of Dravidian origin. Ultimately, of course, the word is onomatopoeic.

18

The following words meaning 'saw' are found in Sanskrit and the languages derived from it: Skt. *krakaca*- MBh., etc., Pa. *kakaca*, Pkt. *karakaya*-; Skt. *karapatra*-, Mar. *karvat*, Nep. *karāti*, etc.; Pa. *khara*- a saw. It does not make much sense to derive *karapattra*- from *kara*- hand; it can, however, be reasonably connected with the other words in this list, all of which are derived from Dravidian. The phonetic irregularities involved have their explanation in the fact that the words are borrowed. The following Dravidian words can be compared:-

Ta. *karukku* teeth of a saw, jagged edge of a palmyra leaf, Ma. *karikku* edge of teeth, *karukku* teeth of a saw, Ka. *karku, karaku* rough, jagged edge, Tu. *gargāsu* a saw, Te. *karakasa* roughness, *karagasamu* a saw.

The Dravidian words are derived from a root *kar-* meaning 'hard, rough, uneven', and the saw is so named on account of its jagged edge. Many Dravidian words are derived from this base: Ta. *karakara* to feel irritation as from sand or grit in the eye; to be hoarse, *karaṭu* roughness, ruggedness, unevenness; knot as in wood, *karil* soverity, pungency, *karaṇ* the uneven surface in vegetables and fruits, *karumai* severity, cruelty, Ma. *karaṭu* what is rough, uneven, hard, *kari-muḷ* a hard thorn, *karu-karukka* to be harsh, sharp, rough, *karuma* hardness, sharpness of a sword, strength of a man, Ka. *karaḍu* that which is rough, uneven, unpolished, hard, *karku, karaku* rough, jagged edge, etc., *garaku, garku* jaggedness, unevenness, roughness, uneven surface, *garusu* gravel, Tu. *karṅkallu* gravel, hard sand, *karaḍu* rough, coarse, *garu* rough, *kargōṭa* hardness, hard-heartedness, Te. *kara* sharp, *karakasa* roughness, *karusu* rough, harsh, *gari, garusu* gravel.

Related words in the Uralian languages can be quoted here: Fi. *karkea* rough, hard, *karea* durus, siccus, *karaista* durare, *karhea* asper, durus, *karmea* austerus, asper, LpN. *garas* hart, *garrat, garam* hart werden, erstarren, Voty *kuriṭ* bitter, scharf schmeckend, Zyr. *kurid* id. | SamJe. *korega'a* hart, etc.

The following Skt. words are also derived from this source: *khara-* adj. hard, harsh, rough, sharp, pungent, acid etc., *kharu* harsh, cruel; *karkara-* hard, firm, *karkaśa* hard, firm, rough, harsh. Of these *khara-* corresponds to the simple

forms like Te. *kara* sharp; *karka ra–* is based on a reduplicated from as in Ma. *karukarukka* to be harsh, sharp, rough; *karkasa* like Te. *karakaśa* roughness, arises by a special form of reduplication, that is the addition of a 'tag', slightly modified in form from the first, radical syllable. Skt. *krakaca–* saw, arises in the same way, and its initial *kra–* is due to a phonetic development seen in some Dravidian languages (e.g. Telugu, Kui) by which *r* is transposed. (Compare Te. *krakku* to vomit < **karkku*: Ta. *kakku* with assimilation.)

Skt. *khaṇḍ–*. *khaṇḍate* to tear, break into pieces, *khaṇḍayati* to cut, divide, tear in pieces, *khaṇḍa–* m. n. a piece cut off, fragment, bit.

~Ta. *keṇṭu* to cut up; to dig, *kiṇṭu* to scratch, dig, hoe, etc., Ma. *kiṇṭu* to dig, Ka. *giṇḍu* to pinch with the nails, Te. *ceṇḍu* to cut, *ceṇḍāḍu* to cut to pieces, Malt. *kiṇḍe* to cut flesh or fish. —BSOAS. xi (1943), p. 136; ib. (1944), p. 344 (Uralian correspondences).

20

An author of a treatise on the art of theft is mentioned from time to time in Sanskrit literature under the name of *Kharapaṭa*[1]. The same author appears in Tamil as *Karavaṭaṉ*, and his treatise is mentioned in *Cilappadhikāram* xvi, 189, where it is called *karaviṭam*. The author is also, and more commonly in Sanskrit, known by the name of *Karṇisuta*. Of these names *Kharapaṭa* is merely a Sanskritization of the Tamil name, which is also a word meaning 'thief', derived from the verb *kara* to steal: cf. Ta. *kara* vb. conceal, hide disguise; to steal, pilfer; (*intr.*) to lie hidden, *karappu* concealing, hiding; theft, fraud, deceit, *karavu* concealment, theft

1. *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, etc.

deceit, *karavar* thieves, *karaval* concealment, *karavaṭam* act or practice of stealing, deceit, *karavaṭar* thieves, deceivers, Ka. *kare* to hide, Te *karaṭi* deceiver, cheat, Kur. *kharnā* to steal. The suffix in *karavaṭaṉ*, etc., can be compared with that in *ārabhaṭa-*, etc. (no. 5).

21

Skt. *capeṭa-* m. (Divyav.), *capeṭā* f. (Pat.), *capeṭī* f. (Balar.) a slap with the open hand; Pkt. *capeṭā*, *caviḍā*, *cavelā* f. id.; Nep. *capeṭā* a slap, D. pash, *capilū* slap, Ass. *sāpar* blow with the palm, Si. *capāṭa* f. slap, Mar. *cāpṭī* a slap or smack; Nep. *cameṭā* slap, blow with the palm of the hand, La. *camāṭa*, Si. *camāṭa* id. (see Nep. Dict. s. v.).

~Ta. *cappāṇi* clapping hands, Ka. *capparisu* to slap, to pat, *cappaḷi* clapping the hands, *cappaḷe*, *cappaṭe* id., *cappaḷisu* to slap, pat, *tappaḷisu* id., Tu. *cappaḷi* clapping the hands, *cappaḷipuni* to clap the hands, Te. *cappaṭa* a clap of the hands, *cappaṭiñcu* to clap, slap, *cappaṭlu* (pl.) clapping of the hands; Te. *camaru* to slap with the open hand; (with loss of initial *c-*) Ka. *apparisu* to throw to the ground (in wrestling), *appaḷisu* to strike against, to flap, slap, Tu. *appaḷipuni* to strike against anything with the open hand, to squash, Te. *appaḷamu* clapping, flapping, striking, *appaḷiñcu* to flap, slap, touch; smear, apply; *appalinta* slapping tapping.[1]

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1. This form without initial *c-* has been Sanskritized into *āsphālayati* strikes with the flat hand; cf Pkt. *apphālei* strikes, *apphaḍia-* struck, Guj, *aphāḷvũ* to dash against, etc. (Nep. Dict. s. v. *āphālnu*).

Since the meaning of the above words is usually to hit with the *flat* hand, it would seem that there must be some etymological connection between these words and Skt. *carpaṭa-* m., *carpaṭī* f. the open palm of the hand (Lex.); cf. Be. *cāpaṛ* open palm, Or. *cāpuṛā* id. Note also that Te. *capēṭamu*, which is a loanword from Skt. *capeṭa-* means 'the palm of the hand with the fingers extended', though this meaning is not recorded for the Sanskrit word.

Skt. *carpaṭa-* also means 'lying flat, (ears); cf. Nep. *capleṭi* flat, Mar. *cāpaṭ*, *capḍā* flat, low, Gu. *cāpaṭ* low and flat, Hi. *cāpaṛ* flat expanse of land, etc. With variations of the initial vowel we have also: Skt. *cipaṭa-* flat-nosed (Lex.), *cipiṭa-* flat, flattened (VarBṛS.), Pkt. *civiḍa*, *cimiḍha*, *civiḍha-*, Mar. *civiḍā* crushed fruits, etc.; further Nep. *cepṭo* flat, Kash. *cĕpoṭu* flat-nosed, Or. *cepā*, *cepṭā* flat.

These words are further connected with verbs meaning 'to flatten, to press, to crush': Pa. *cippiyamāna-* crushed flat, Pkt. *cappai*, *campai* presses, Hi. *cā̃pnā* to press, Gu. *cā̃pvũ*, etc.; Mar. *cipṇeṃ* to press, *civaḍṇeṃ* to crush, Be. *cipā* to press, etc.; Nep. *cepnu* to press, squeeze, depress, Mar. *cepṇeṃ* to press, crush, Hi. *cepnā* to stick on, paste on, etc.

Corresponding to these words we have in Dravidian: Ta. *cappaṭṭai* flatness, anything flat, *cappaḷi* to flatten, *cappu* to be bent, pressed in, *cappai* that which is flattened, Ma. *cippu* what is smoothed, flat, Ka. *capaṭe* flatness, *cappaṭe* id., *cappe* that which is flattened or pressed down, Te. *cappi* flat, not projecting, *cappiḍi* flat, not projecting, snub. With loss of initial *c-*, Ka. has dialectally *appaṭe* flatness. The same loss of initial *c-* is to be presumed in the case of Ta. *appu* to stick or clap on with the hand as sandal paste, with a trowel, as mortar, to apply, put on (for the meaning cf. Hi. *cepnā*), Ma. *appi* plaster.

22

Skt. *cikkaṇa-* adj. unctuous, slippery; sb. n. any smooth liquid, gum; Mar. *cikaṇ* tough, gummy, glutinous, unctuous, etc., Mar. Gu. *cīk* gum, resin.

~Ta. *cikku* to be stuck fast; (sb.) a tangle, being entangled, stuck; stickiness of the hair due to oil, *cikkeṉa* firmly, tenaciously, tightly, Ma. *cikku* being entangled, intricacy, *cikkuka* to be stuck, entangled, Ka. *sikku* to be caught, entangled, *cigil*, *jigil* to be sticky, gummy, viscid, glutinous, Tu. *tikkuni* to be ensnared, caught, *tikkaṭuni* to be matted, as hair, Te. *cikku* tangle; to be entangled, stuck, *cikkã baḍu* to become thick or inspissated, *cikkani* thick or inspissated as a liquid; dense, close as texture, etc.

The meanings given for *cikkaṇa-* in Monier-Williams' Dictionary, 'smooth, slippery, unctuous,' are badly chosen and to a great extent misleading. Substitute 'viscous, sticky, gummy, glutinous, etc.'

Skt. *cikkhalla-* mud, and its derivatives (Mar. *cikhal*, etc.) may reasonabiy be held to be derived from this same source.

23

Skt. *cira-* n. a strip, long narrow piece of bark or cloth, rag, tatter, clothes; the dress of a Buddhist monk; a stripe, stroke, line, *cīvara-* m. iron filings; n. the dress or rags of a religious monk, Pa. *cīra-* n. bark, fibre; a bark dress; a strip, *cīraka-* n. bark; a strip, *cīvara-* n. the robe of a Buddhist mendicant; Nep. *ciro* a splinter, cut, slice, Hi. *cīr* a strip, Gu. *cīr* a slit, *cīro* a long piece of canvas, Mar. *cīr* underclothes, *cirā* a strip of cloth, etc. (See Nep. Dict. s.v.)

~Ta. *civu* to pare off, shave or scrape off, *cival* parings, shavings, *cīrai* bark of a tree used as clothing (Tirumuruk° 126]; cloth, rags, tatters, *citar* to scratch as a fowl; to be worn out, torn, as cloth (*citariṉa cīrai*, Perumpāṇ° 468, Comm.); to separate, split, cut, hack; sb. rag; cloth, *citarvai* cloth worn out or reduced to a rag (Perumpāṇ° 468), *citār* cloth, rag (Puṟaṉ° 150); thin bark of certain trees used as clothing, Ma. *cīvuka* to scrape, peel, polish, *cival* thinness of cloth, *cīr* a line, Ka. *sigur* a splinter or shiver; what is pared off, rind, *sibaṟu, sivaṟu, sivuṟu* id., *civvu* to cut thin, shave or scrape; to peel or bark, *cīvu* id., *cīru* a shiver or fragment, *sību* a bamboo slit, *sīre* cloth, garment; female's garment, *sīṟa* line, stripe, Tu. *sīre* a females' garment, Te. *civvu* to cut, shave, pare, *cīru* to slash, gash, rend, tear, slice, *cīra* a female's garment; any cloth in general *jīra* a line, a streak, a stripe.

Skt. *cīra-* represents a contracted and Skt. *cīvara* an uncontracted form of the same word. Compare Skt. (Lex.) *nīvara-* water; mire: *nīra-* water < Dr. (Ta., etc.) *nīr* water, and Dr. *īr, sīr, cīr* nits, contracted out of **cīvar* (BSOAS. xi (1944), p. 349). The form in Dravidian corresponding most exactly to Skt. *cīvara-*is Ka. *sivaṟu, sivuṟu*. This is fairly evidently derived from forms without an *r-* suffix, Ka. *cīrvu* to cut thin, shave, peel, bark, etc.; cf. Ka. *sību* a bamboo slit. Some difficulty is caused by the various intervocalic consonants that appear in some of the Dravidian words, namely *-t-* in Ta. *citar*, etc., and *-g-* in Ka. *siguṟu*. That latter is probably only a substitute for *-v-*, as happens some times. On the others hand Ta. *-t-* presumably represents an original spirant or sibilant (cf. Kui *sespa* to scrape, plane shave a stick or piece of wood) which has otherwise disappeared or been replaced by *-v-*.

Skt. *cela-* n. clothes, garment, is also to be connected with these words. Compare Ta. *citalai* small piece of cloth, rag, *citaval* strip of cloth, rag, torn piece of cloth; torn piece; cutting off, cropping, which have an *l-* suffix in place of the *r* suffix in Ta. *citar*, *citār*. With contraction we have Ta. *cīlai* cloth, garment, Ma. *cīla* cloth, which correspond exactly with Skt. *cela-*. The difference of the long vowel in the two cases is due to the fact that both are the result of a contraction. Compare further Te. *cīlu* to break, split, be torn, *cīlucu* to split, tear, *ilika* a slice, slit, sliver, shiver, Ka. *sīḷ* to split, be cleft; (sb.) split, piece, fragment.

24

Skt. *cumb-*, *cumbati* to kiss.

~Ta. *cūppu* to suck, *cūmpu* to suck, fondle with the lips, Ta. Ma. *ūmpu* to suck, Tu. *jumbuni* to suck, sip, lick, Kui *jūpa*, *jūmba* to suck, Kuvi *jūpali* id.; Malt. *cumqe* to kiss (possibly re-borrowing from IA.); Brah. *cūping* to suck.

Dravidian has also a variant series of words with *-ī-* instead of *-ū-*: Ta. *cīppu* to suck, Ka. *cīpu*, *sīpu* id., Te. *cīpu* to make a sound with the lips, Kur. *cīpnā* to suck, Malt. *cīpe* id.

25

Skt. *taṭa-* m. slope, rounded side of a hill; any rounded portion of the body (*stana-taṭa-*, *śroṇi-taṭa*); bank, shore, Pa. *taṭa-*, side of a hill, side of a river of bank, Pkt. *taḍa-* bank, shore; Be. *taṛ*, Or. *taṛā*, Hi. *taṛ* bank.

~Ta. *tiṭṭu* rising ground, bank, elevation; sand-bank, *tiṭṭai* sand-bank; raised floor, veranda, *tiṭar* bank, island, rubbish-heap, *tiṭal* id., *tiṭaṟu* mound, *taṭal* high-land (Coll.)

Ma. *tiṭṭa* raised ground, hillock, shoal; raised seat as in a varanda, *tiṭṭu* a mound, shoal, Ka. *tiṭṭu* rising ground, a hillock, *diḍḍu* eminence, elevation, hillock, *daḍa* bank, shore, *daṇḍe* id., Tu. *diḍḍu* elevated ground, mound, Tod.(Pope) *diṭu* hill, Te. *tiṭṭa* heap, mound.

A fluctuation in Dravidian between *a* and *i* (also *u*) in the radical syllable is a feature very commonly met with, although the conditions that cause it are not very clear. Compare the following instances: Ta. *kaṭāvu* to drive, Ma. *kiṭāvuka* id.; Ta. *kaṭa* male buffalo: Ma. *kiṭāvu*; Ta. *alantai* tank, pond: *ilantai* id.; Ta. *malai* to put on wear: Ta. *milai* id.; Ta. *aṭār* a trap: *iṭār* id.; Ka. *daḍumu* thickness, stoutness: Tu. *diḍumbu* corbulence; Ka. *miḍi* heel: *maḍa* id.; Ka. *iṇaci* squirrel: Ta. *aṇil* id., etc., etc., The difference in vowel between Skt. *taṭa-* and Ta. *tiṭṭu*, etc., is of the same kind.

Intervocalically a single unvoiced consonant in Sanskrit very often replaces a double consonant in Dravidian: cf. *capeṭā* (no. 21), *piṭaka-*, *puṭa-*, (no. 39), etc.

As Professor Turner points out (Nep. Dict. s. v. *talāu*) this word should be separated from Skt. *taḍāga-* m. tank, pond, and Skt. *taṭāka-* which also appears is a mistaken form due to the influence of *taṭa-*. This word *taḍāga-* is also of Dravidian origin, and can be compared with the following words: Ta. *taṭu* to hinder, obstruct, *taṭakku* obstacle, impediment, *taṭam* ridge, dam, causeway; pond (Kalit° 17), *taṭavu* pond (Puṟaṉ° 105); prison,. *taṭai* to hinder, stop; (sb.) obstacle, impediment; door; bund, embankment, Ma. *taṭa* resistance, *taṭayuka* to be obstructed, *taṭavu* what resists, wards off; a prison, *taṭekka* to stop, prevent, Ka. *taḍa* check, impediment delay, *taḍapu* hindrance, impediment, *taḍe* to stop, impede; (sb.) a check, impediment, obstacle, Tu. *taḍepini* to check, hinder, etc., *taḍe* a delay, hindrance, *daḍe* an obstacle, hindrance; a screen, blind, Te. *taḍa* hindrance, obstruction, prevention, *taḍayu* to delay.

Skt. *taḍāga-* means an artificial tank or lake, and it is so called on account of the bund, dam, or embankment by which the waters are contained. The word would appear also to have this latter sense sometimes, for instance, in the compound *taḍāgabhedaka-*, Mn. ix. 279 where Kullūka uses the term *setubheda-* in his paraphrase.

For this development of meaning compare Ta. *ciṟai*, Ka. *keṟe* tank etc., which have likewise developed from a verb meaning to restrain: Ta. *ceṟu* to shut in, restrain, prevent, Ka. *kiṟu* to confine, shut in, etc. (BSOAS. xi 125).

26

Skt. *taraṅga-* m. wave, is usually explained as *taraṃ-ga-* 'across-goer', a compound like *pataṃ-ga-*, *plavaṃ-ga-*, etc. This is not very satisfactory semantically, since it is difficult to see why a term of such vague and general meaning should have developed the meaning of 'wave' in particular, and that meaning only a better etymology can be provided by comparing the following Dravidian words:–

Ta. *tiraṅku* to be wrinkled, crumpled, to be curled as the hair, *tirai* to be wrinkled, rolled; to roll as waves; (sb.) wrinkle; a curtain; a wave, Ma. *tira* a roll, as of paper; wave; curtain, *tirekkuka* to roll up, wind up, *tirappu* rolling, Ka. *tere* a wave; what can be rolled up, and unrolled, a curtain; a fold, wrinkle, Tu. *sere* a wave, Te. *tera* screen, curtain; wave.

Skt. *taraṅga-* corresponds exactly in form to Ta. *tiraṅku*. This would give Ka. **terāgu*, Te. **teragu*, but the alternative form Ta. *tirai*, Ka. *tere* etc , has usually prevailed in South Dravidian. The meaning 'wave' in Dravidian is developed from the meaning 'wrinkle, crinkle, fold', since waves give to the surface of the water the appearance of being crinkled. This peculiarity of meaning makes it quite certain that the Sanskrit word is in fact derived from this Dravidian

source, because in contradistinction to other words meaning wave in Sanskrit, *taraṅga-* has also the meaning 'wrinkle, fold'. As examples of this last meaning we can quote the compound *carmataraṇga-* a fold of skin (Lex.), and Kathās° 84, 7 *vali- trayataraṅgitām*; of wavey or crinkled hair, *trangitasiroruha- Mānasoll°* iii, 20, 28; cf. also *Dhurtaviṭasamvāda* 3: *kruddhasrībhrukuṭītaraṅgakuṭilā vidyullatā dyotate*, and *Padmaprābhṛtaka* 7: *kim krtvā bhrukuṭītarangaviṣamamṃ roṣoparaktam mukham*, etc.

The other Sanskrit words for 'wave' cannot be used in this sense, and they differ from *taraṅga-* in as much as they denote a wave from point of view of its motion. Such is the case with the one word of Indo-European origin for 'wave', Skt. *ūrmi-*: AS, wielm, etc., and also with *kallola-*, *lahari-* which were shown to be of Dravidian origin (see above no. 3). The same is probably true of Skt. *vīci-*, *°ī* f. wave, which Kittel (IA i, p. 237) plausibly derives from Drav. (Kan.) *bīsu* to wave, swing, etc. This is better than his later suggestion (Kan.-Eng. Dict. p. xlii) which connects it with Ka. *bīgu* to swell, etc. The following is a list of the Drav. words connected with Ka. *bīsu*: Ta. *vīcu* to flap, as wings, to swing; as the arm, to wave, to swing and cast a net; to fan; to blow as the wind, *vīccu* swinging, oscillation; beat, flap of wings, *viciṟu* to wave to and fro, brandish; to swing the arms in walking; to fan, *viciṟi* a fan, Ma. *vīcuka* to fan; to blow, of the wind; to cast a net, *vīcci* a fan, *vīccu* throwing a net; a back-stroke, *vīyuka* to fan; to brandish, swing, wield; to flap; the wind to blow; to throw nets, *vīsuka* to fan; to blow; to throw a net, *vīsēṟi* a fan, visari id., Ka. *bīsu* to swing, whirl, wave; to fan; to throw a net, to blow, as the wind, Tu. *bījaṭa* waving, swinging, fanning, *bījuni* to swing, blow as the wind, *bīpu* casting, throwing; blowing of the wind; waving hands, *bīsuni* to fan, wave, swing, cast, Te. *visaru*, *visuru* to throw, wave, whirl, blow as the wind, *vīcu* to below as the

wind; to wave, *vicōpu* a chowrie, *vīvana* a fan, a whisk; *vīvali* wind, Kui *vīnja* to blow, to fan. In the specialized meaning of 'fan, to fan' this Dravidian family of words has given to Sanskrit *vīj-*, *vyaj-* to fan, *vījana-*, *vyajana-* a fan. From the general sense 'swing, wave, oscillate', the meaning 'wave' of Skt. *vīci-* can reasonably be derived. In form it corresponds exactly with Ma. *vīcci*. There is a gradation of the intervocalic consonant in Dravidian which is reflected in Sanskrit with *vīci-* on the one hand and *vīj-* on the other.

27

Skt. *tarala-* mf(ā)n. moving to and fro, trembling, tremulous; unsteady, vain, *taralayati* makes to tremble, *taralāyate* trembles.

~Ka. *teraḷ* to move, shake, stir, tremble, quiver, Te. *teralu* to move, to toss about, be routed, *taralu* to stir, move, proceed; with transposition of *r* and *l*: Ka. *taḷar* to move, tremble, totter; moving, trembling, tottering, *taḷar-aḍi* a trembling step, *taḷar-naḍe* a trembling, tottering walk, Ta. *taḷar* to be relaxed, slack, *taḷarcci* slackness, debility, Ma. *taḷaruka* to relax, become slack.

Skt. *tarala-* m. the central gem of a necklace, is a different word from the above. It is to be referred to the following Dravidian group: Ta. *tiraḷ* to become round, globular, (sb.) ball, globe, round mass, *tiraḷ-maṇi-vaṭam* a kind of necklace (Inscr.), *tiraḷai* a solid round object, Ma. *tiraḷ* a ball, Ka. *teraḷu* to ball itself, to become round, *teraḷe* a round lump.

28

Skt. *talina-* mf(ā) n. thin, fine; slender, meagre; small, little; separate, having spaces; clear.

~Ka. *teḷ* thinness, fineness, delicateness, smallness, *teḷḷage* thin, delicate; thinly; thinness; diluted state, *teḷḷane*, *teḷḷanna* id., *teḷupu* thinness; delicateness, fineness; diluted, watery

state, Tu. *telpu* thinness; thin, lean; few, little, *tellena* thinnish.

Out of these Ka. *teḷḷane*, Tu. *tellena* correspond in form to Skt. *talina*-. In these words Ka. -*ane*, Te. -*ena* is an adjectival suffix which has developed in these languages, and in Telugu, out of what was originally the infinitive of the verb to say (*an*-, *en*-, *in*-) used adverbially. Compare (no. 22 above) Te. *cikkani* thick, inspissated, with Ta. *cikk-eṉa* firmly, tenaciously.

29

Skt. *tuvara*-, *tubara*- mfn. astringent, Pkt. *tuvara*- id.

~Ta. *tuvar* vb. to be astringent; sb. astringency, astringent substance, *tuvarppu* astringent taste, astringency, harshness, Ma. *tuvaruka* to grow dry, Ka. *tuvara, tovara, togari, togaru* astringent, an astringent taste, Kui *torpa* to be astringent.

The following similar words have apparently nothing to do with the above group: Skt. *tubarī*, *tubarikā* f. Cajanus Indicus (Lex.) | Ta. *tuvarai* Cajanus Indicus (Peruṅk°), Ma. *tuvara* (< *tuvar* on account of its taste, Gt.), Ka. *togari, tovari*, Tu. *togari, togare* id. In this case also the Sanskrit word is to be regarded as derived from the Dravidian.

30

Skt. *dadru*-, *dadrū* f. a cutaneous eruption, kind of leprosy, *dardū*, *dardru*- f. id., *dadruṇa*-, *dardruṇa*-, leprous, Pa. *daddu* a kind of cutaneous eruption; for ModIA derivatives see Nep. Dict. s.v. *dād*.

~Ka. *taddu, daddu, dadru* cutaneous and herpetic eruptions, herpes; a kind of leprosy; a ringworm, Tu. *taddu* an eruption or swelling, erysipelas, *daddu* ringworm, herpes, Te. *daddu, dadduru* a cutaneous disease, herpes, Kuvi (Fitzg.) *tadū* ringworm, Kui *dado, dadu* rough white patches on the skin that cause irritation and itching, dry itch.

The fluctuation between surd and sonant in the case of the initial consonant is a feature of Dravidian, and therefore an indication that the word is original in these languages. Santali *d'ăd* ringworm is a loanword from Indo-Aryan.

31

Skt. *nagara–* n. town, city borrowed into Dravidian as Ma. *nagaram,* Ta. *nakaram,* Ka. *nagara,* Te. *nagaramu.* In addition to these loanwords we find also the following: Ta. *nakar* house, abode, mansion; palace, temple, shrine, hall; town city, Ma. *nakar* a town, Te. *nagaru* a palace. Of these the Tamil word is common in the earliest literature, and for that reason, and because of the difference in meaning, cannot be regarded as a loanword from Sanskrit. On the other hand, in view of the practical identity of the forms, and because the Sanskrit word has no IE etymology, there would seem to be every reason for deriving the Sanskrit word from the Dravidian. From a general meaning 'habitation' the specialized meanings of 'palace, etc.', on the one hand and 'town' on the other easily develop. Compare Skt. *pura–* 'house abode, fortress, castle; city, town.'

Initial *n–* is an unstable sound in Dravidian, and there is frequent alternation between words with and without *n–* in all the Dravidian languages: Ta. *nīr* water, *īr* damp, etc.,etc. Consequently we can reasonably derive Skt. *agāra–*, *āgāra* n. house, abode, from the same source. As frequently, there is no strict correspondence in vowel–length in the word as borrowed into Sanskrit.

Analysing these forms, it is to be observed that *ar–* is a common suffix in Dravidian, and we can therefore compare further Ta. *akam* in the sense of house (*akattāṉ* householder, Nālaṭi°). The general meaning of Ta. *akam* is 'the inside', from which the meaning of 'abode' could develop (*akam* inside, at home, opposed to *puṟam* outside). For the

meaning town compare also the Tamil compounds *aka-nilai* town, *akap-pā* a fortified wall.

32

Skt. *nīvāra*-m. wild rice, VS., etc., Pa. *nīvāra*- raw rice, paddy.

~Ta. *navarai* a kind of paddy, *nakarai* id., Ma. *navira*, *naviri*, *nakara* a rice that ripens within two or three months, Tu. *navare* a kind of rice.

For the fluctuation between the vowels *a* and *i* in the first syllable, compare the examples given above (no. 25).

33

Skt. *paṇ*-, *paṇate* to negotiate, bargain; to stake, lay a wager, *paṇa*- m. a bet or wager; a compact, stipulation, agreement, treaty; the thing staked or the sum played for.

~Ta. *puṇai* to tie; (sb.) tie; bond; pledge, security, surety, Ka. *poṇe* bond, bail: a bondsman, a surety, a bail, Tu. *puṇe* security, bail; with variation in the initial vowel: Ta. *piṇai* (vb.) to tie, bind, fasten; (sb.) tie, bond; agreement; bail, security, guarantee; pledge, Ma. *piṇekka* to tie, *piṇa* tying, yoke; being involved, bail, surety, Ka. *peṇe* to tie; being tied, Te. *pena* tie, bond.

34

Skt. *paṇḍa*- eunuch, weakling, *paṇḍaka*-, *paṇḍra*-, *paṇḍraka* id., Pa. *paṇḍaka*-id.

~Ta. *peṇ* woman, female, *peṇṭu* woman, wife, peṇṭir pl. women, *peṭai* female of birds, *peṭṭai* female of animals or birds; woman, girl, *peṭṭaiyaṉ* hermaphrodite, effeminate, man, *pēṭu* female of birds and certain animals; hermaphrodite, *pēṭi* hermaphrodite, *pēṭai* female of birds, hen, Ma. *peṇ* female, women, girl, *peṇṭi* a girl, women, *peṇṇan* an effeminate man, *peṭa*, *piṭa* hen, *peṭṭa* the female of birds; the female of asses, camels, Ka. *peṇ* female, woman, *peṇḍa* id.,

peṇḍati wife, *hēṭe*, *hēṇṭe* hen, Tu. *poṇṇa* female, feminine, *poṇṇu* a girl, female, maid, *poṇjavu*, *poṇjevu* a female in general; a woman, Te. *peṇṭi* the female of any animal or plant *peṇḍili* marriage, *peṇḍlamu* wife, spouse, consort, *peṭṭa* hen, female of any bird, *pēḍi* eunuch, hermaphrodite, *pēḍe* a beradless man, Malt. *peli* woman, *pelo* female, Kur. p*ell* maidservant, Brah. *paṭṭi* female.

35

Skt. *parāga*- m. pollen of a flower; dust, Kav., Pur., etc.

~Ta. *piracam* pollen; honey, honeycomb; toddy; bee. Te. *pera* honeycomb, beehive, Tu. *perya* a large bee.

36

Skt. *picc*-, *piccayati* to squeeze, press flat, *piccaṭa*- pressed flat, squeezed, *piccita* id., Suśr., *pich*-, *pichayati* to press flat, squeeze, *pichana*- pressing flat, squeezing, Car.

In Dravidian compare Kuvi (Fitzg.) *pīchali* to milk, wring, Tu. *pīsuni* to squeeze, press out, and the following forms in which an -*r*. appears: Malt. *perche* to be squashed as an overripe fruit, Tu. *purñcuni* to squeeze as lemon, Brah. *prinching* to squeeze (cf. Bal. *prich*-, *pīrich*-). These words have correlates in Uralian: Zyr. *pitskini* auspressen, pressen, Voty, *pytskyny* drücken, auspressen, VogA. *poaśtam* pressen, Sz. *pośśeti* drücken Osty. *pŏḱŏrmŏm* id.; Hg. *facsar* obtorquere, premere, *pusertaa*, Voty. *pidzirtini* id. In most of the Uralian forms an -*r*- appears after the affricate, while in Dravidian an -*r*- appears before it, from which it would seem that transposition has taken place in one or the other language group. Sanskrit *picc*- is presumably derived from **pirc*- by assimilation.

37

Skt. *picchā* f. gum; slimy saliva, *picchala*- mfn. slimy, smeary, *picchila*- id.

~Ta. *piciṉ* gum, exudation from certain trees; stickiness, viscousness, *picupicu* to be sticky, glutinous, viscous, *payiṉ* gum, glue, *pacai* stickiness, glue, resin, Ma. *paya, paca, paśa* gum, resin, Tu. *paya* id., Te. *pisunu* gum, resin *pisini* parsimonious.

With these Dravidian words Schrader (ZII iii, 93) compares the following Finno-ugrian words: Fi. *pihka* resina, gummi, pix; *harz*, Est. *pihk*, id., Hg. *fösvény* avarus, parcus, tenax, cher. *peškede* parcum, tenacem esse.

For the homonymous words *piccha-* tail, and *piccha-* calf of the leg, see BSOAS. xi, p. 347 and p. 348.

38

Skt. *puṅkha-* m. the shaft or feathered part of an arrow (which comes in contact with the bowstring), MBh., etc.

~Ta. *puruku* arrowhead, Ka. *piḷuku, piḷku* the lower part of an arrow which comes in contact with the bowstring and contains the feathers and shaft.

The Skt. word is based on a Drav. form with the liquid assimilated; such assimilations are found in a number of Skt. words derived from Dravidian (cf. *uñch-*, no. 7: Ta. *uriñcu*].

39

Skt. *puṭa-* m.n. fold, pocket; a cup or basket or vessel made of leaves; a casket, *puṭaka-* m. a vessel made of leaf, etc., Pa. *puṭa-* a container made of leaves, pocket, basket, Pkt. *puḍa-, puḍaa-*; Be. *puṛā* a straw vessel for storing grain, Or. Hi. *puṛā* a packet (especially of leaves to hold sweets), Nep. Dict. s.v. *purā*.

~Ta. *puṭṭil* quiver, sheath, basket, flower-basket, Ma. *puṭṭil* basket; husk, pod, legume, Ka. *puṭṭi* a smaller or larger basket made of cane, bamboo, or palmyra leaves, *buṭṭi, buṭṭe* id., Tu. *puṭṭi* a small round basket, *puḍayi* a basket, *buḍḍe* a pod, legume, Te. *puṭi* a flower-basket, *puṭika*,

puṭṭika a small basket, *boṭṭa* a large cylindrical basket for storing grain, Kui *puṭi* a basket.

With a variation in the radical vowel Skt. *piṭaka-* basket, is derived from the same source; cf. also Ta. *pirā* a round wicker basket (*Perumpāṇ*° 276, etc.). The same vowel-variation is found also in the homophone, Skt. *piṭaka-* blister (cf. BSOAS. xi, 354).

There is another word *puṭa-* n. in Sanskrit differing completely from the above in meaning and etymology. It means 'anthill', and is found only in the cpd. *pipīlakapuṭa-*, MBh. The Dravidian word from which it is derived appears in the various languages as follows: Ta. *puṟṟu* anthill, Ka. *puttu* Te. *puṭṭa*, Kui *pusi*, Kuvi *puci*, Malt. *pute* id. Of these the Telugu form with *-ṭṭ-* (out of original affricate most closely resembles the Sanskrit word. On the other hand, in another loanword from the same Dravidian source, namely Skt. *puttikā* f. the white ant or termite, the Sanskrit word shows the same development of the internal consonant as Kanarese.

40

Skt. *pulina-* m.n. a sandbank, a small island or bank in the middle of a river, an islet, a sandy beach, Pa. *pulina-*, *puḷina-* n. a sandy bank or islet in the middle of a river.

~Ta. *poril* park, grove, forest, pleasure-garden; earth, world; country, district, *pūril* earth, Ma. *poril* watered ground; flower-garden; sandy shore; a piece of low ground, Ka. *puril* sand, sandy shore.

Ka. *puril* is traditionally regarded as a tadbhava from Skt. *pulina-*; it cannot, however, be separated from Ta. Ma. *poril*, which makes it clear that the relationship is the other way round, and Sanskrit the borrower.

These words are related to a further series of words in Dravidian meaning 'sand, dust ashes, etc.': Ta. *pūri* powder,

dust; sacred ashes, *pūrti* dust, *puruti* dust, dried earth; pulverised or fine powder; dry earth, Ma. *pūri* dust, also earth put to the roots of trees; the pollen of flowers, *puruti* id., Tu. *poyye* sand, Tod. (Pope) *purzh* mud, Malt. *porsi* sweepings. These words have correlates in Uralian as follows: Hg. *por* dust, Osty. *par* ashes, Voty. *purzitini* to make dusty, Vog. *pors*, *pārš*, etc., kehricht | Sam. O. *phürä* sand, K. *püre* sand, sandbank. In the South Dravidian -ṟ- has developed out of -r- cf. Ta. *maṟu* axe = Go. *mars*, etc.

The form appearing in Ta. as *pūṟti* (a variant of *puṟuti*) has developed in Ka. and Tu. to *būdi* ashes, with assimilation of -ṟ- and voicing of the initial, both frequent phenomena. This Ka. Tu. *būdi* has been further adapted into Skt. as *bhūti*- f. ashes, sacred ashes, where on account of the employment of ashes for religious purposes, popular etymology easily identified the word with Skt. *bhūti*- f. welfare.

41

Skt. *pusta*-, *pustaka*- a book (Pa. *potthaka*- a book; cloth made of *makaci* fibre, Pkt. *potthaka*-; Hi., etc., *pothi*) was explained by R. Gauthiot (MSL, xix, 130) as a loanword from Iranian: Pahl. *pōst* a skin, ModPers. *pūst* id., from which the meaning 'a book written on leather', 'a book(in general)' could be derived. The weakness of this theory is that leather was not used for books in India, and in Iran, where it was so used, the word *pōst* never developed the meaning of book. The materials used for writing on in India were mainly palm-leaf in the South, and birch-bark in the North, particularly in the North-West.

In the Modern Persian *pōst*, *pūst*, besides meaning 'skin' hide' means also 'bark of a tree', and in this sense we can

further compare Parachi *pūst* bark (of a tree), Yidgha *pistə*, Sanglechi *pəstāk* id., Wakhi *pīst* skin, hide; bark (*draxt-pīšt*), Shughni *pōst* bark. In view of the fact that birch-bark was the usual material for books in N. W. India, it is clear that if Skt. *pustaka-* is borrowed from Iranian, it must be from the word used in this sense, and not in the sense of 'skin'.

There are, however, also some Dravidian words that need to be taken into consideration:-

Ta. *potti* garment of fibres, cloth; sheath, Ka. *potti* cloth Te. *potti* cloth; bark; cf. Ta. *pottu* to cover wrap, Ma. *pottuka* to cover, envelop; with shorting of intervocalic *-tt-*, Ta. *putai* to cover, cloth, etc.; Ma. *puta* a cover, an outer garment, *putekka* to wrap oneself, Ka. *podake* a cover, covering, a wrapper; a thatch, Tu. *podepu* wearing apparel, etc.

The fact that Pa. *potthaka-*, Pk. *pottha-*, *potthaa-* mean 'cloth' as well as 'book' tends to support the Dravidian etymology, since Drav. *potti* sheath; bark; cloth is connected with the verb *pottu* to cover envelop, so that the development of the various specialized meanings easily comes about. The following words can also be grouped here: Skt. *pota-* m., *potikā* f. cloth, garment, Pkt. *potta-* a garment, *pottaa-* cotton cloth, *pottiyā* a piece of cloth, *pottī* a sari; Hi. *petiyā* a loin-cloth, etc.; Sgh. *potta* bark of a tree; husk of fruit; shell of testaceous animals.

In deciding between the two alternative etymologies, Iranian and Dravidian, it would seem best to derive Skt. *pustaka-* and the Middle and Modern IA words meaning 'book' directly from Iranian *pōst-* in the sense of 'bark', and to refer MI *pottha-* cloth and the other words to a Dravidian source. Further, the possibility is to be taken into account that the Iranian word itself is derived from Dravidian, since it is without IE etymology and there are other cases where a Dravidian etymology can be suggested for Iranian

words. In view of the western origin of the Dravidian languages and their connection with Uralian, such a state of affairs is to be expected. If so Drav. *pott–* would be assimilated out of earlier **pŏst–*. As all the Dravidian languages show 'prakritic' tendencies of this kind, such a development is very probable.

Skt. *pusta–*, *pustaka–* also has another sense, namely that of 'plastering'. In this sense we may reasonably follow Gundert (ZDMG. xxiii, 528) and Kittel (Kan-Eng. Dict. p. xl) in comparing the Dravidian words meaning 'to smear': Ta. *pūcu* to besmear, anoint, rub, daub, spread on, on plaster; sb. daubing, smearing, Ma. *pūcuka* to smear, daub; to white-wash, plaster; (with *pon*) to gild, *pūccu* smearing; daub, coating, Ka. *pūsu* to smear, daub, plaster, etc., Tu. *pūjuni* to smear, rub, daub, apply, Te. *pūyu* id. As Kittel points out Skt. *pusta–* corresponds to a Dravidian participial form: Ka. *pūsita* that which is smeared.

42

Skt. *pūj–*, *pūjayati* to honour, worship, revere, respect; *pūjā* f. honour, worship, adoration.

~Ta. *pŏṟṟu* to chrish, protect, nourish; to worship, treat with regard, entertain (a guest); to praise, applaud, Ma. *pōṟṟuka* to adore; to preserve, bring up, protect.

Ta. Ma. *pōṟṟu* (i. e. *pōttru*) represents an original **pōčču*, the *–ṟṟ–* having developed out of an original affricate. Skt. *pūj–* represents a Drav. **pōǰ–* with a weaker grade of the intervocalic consonant. An exact phonological parallel is to be found in Kui *tōja* to show, as compared with Ta. Ma. *tōṟṟu* id. For Skt. *ū*: Dr. *ō*, compare Skt. *kūṭa–* peak: Ta. *kōṭu*, etc.

43

Skt. *bilva* Aegle Marmelos, Pa. *beluva, beḷuva,* also *bella, billa* id., Pkt. *bella, billa*; see nep. Dict. s.v. bel.[1]

~Ta. *viḷā* wood-apple, *viḷavu* id., *veḷḷi* id., Ma. *viḷā*, Ka. *beḷaval, beḷavala, beḷōla, beḷaḷa, bēla,* Te. *velāga* id.

The IA forms with *-e-* in the first syllable are not based on a Skt. vriddhied form *bilva-*, but respresent Drav. forms with *-e-*. The alternation *e:i* is based on Drav. phonetic developments (Drav. St. II, BSOAS. x(1940) pp. 289-297).

44

Skt. *maru-* m. a wilderness, sandy waste, desert; a mountain, rock, MBh., etc., *marudhanvan-* m. desert, *maruprapāta-* m. a rocky precipice, a mountain crag. *marubhūmi-*, *marusmthala-*, etc., desert, Pa. *maru* desert (always combined with *okantāra-*), *marumba-* a kind of sand or gravel.

~Ta. *murampu* rough, hard ground, rock, mound of gravel or stone, *murappu* roughness, Ma. *muram* roughness, ruggedness, *murakkallu* very strong ground, Ka. *moraḍu* a stony rough hillock, Tu. *mura* a stone quarry; laterite stone; stony, hard, strong, Te. *moramu* a pebble, gravel-stone, *morapa* stony, gravelly, *morasu* rough, rude.

45

Skt. *mastu-* sour cream; the watery part of curds, whey, TS., etc.; Mar. *maṭhā* milk coagulated with its butter in it and churned; the coagulum or thick residue of curds, Gu. *maṭho, maṭṭho,* Si. *maṭho* Pj. Hi. *maṭhā*, Be. *māthā* || cf. Pers. *māst* sour, coagulated milk, *māsīdan* to coagulate (as milk), to congeal, Balochi *masta* curds, *mada* to freeze, curdle, Pashto matar coagulated milk, Khotanese *māsta-* curdled, *amāsta ñye* unfermented curds.

~Ta. *mucar* buttermilk, curds, (contracted) *mōr* buttermilk, curd diluted with water, Ma. *mōr* buttermilk, Ka. *mosar, mosaru, masaru* curds, Tu. *mosaru* id.; Ka. *majjige* buttermilk, whey, Te. *majjiga* id., Ta. *maccikai* (lw. < Te.), Tod. *mach*(Metz), *maj*(Rivers) buttermilk; Te. *meṭṭu* curds mixed with water; Brah. *maringing* to curdle.

The various IA and Iranian forms show considerable irregularities, a fact which is often a sign that words have been borrowed. In view of the striking similarity of the Dravidian words, it becomes highly likely that they have been borrowed from this source. The contracted form which appears in Ta. Ma. *mōr* has also been borrowed into Skt. in *moraṭa, mōraṇa* Susr. sour buttermilk.

46

Skt. *mruc-, mrocgati*: *mimruc-* to go down, set, of the sun, *mluc-, mlocati* to go down, set, *mlup-*: *upamlupta-* hidden, concealed, *abhinimlupta-* = °*mrukta*, °*mlukta-* upon whom while not doing any work or while sleeping the sun has set. | Cf. Av. *mraocant-* sich duckend.

~Ta. *muruku* to be immersed, to sink, *murucu* to dive, dip, get into, *muruttu* to plunge, dip in, drown, *mūr* to submerge, engulf, *mūrku* to submerge, sink; to be hidden, concealcd, Ma. *muruku* to sink under water, Ka. *murugu, muṇugu* to go or sink under, to be immersed, dive; set (of the sun), Tu. *murkuni* to sink, be immersed; the sun to set, *murgelu* ducking, diving, Te. *munūgu* to sink, plunge, dive, *munucu* to cause to sink, Go. *murungānā* to dive, sink, be drowned, Kui *munja* to be immersed, submerged, Kuvi (Fitzg.) *mrūkhali* to dip into, Malt. *mulge* to dip in, Kur. *mulkhnā* id.

47

Sanskrit has two words for 'tiger' *śārdūla-* and *vyāghra-*, and, as was to be expected, neither has an Indo-European

etymology. Of these the first can be analysed as a Dravidian descriptive expression, meaning 'striped skin.' The first element appears in Dravidian as Ka. *cāṟa* a line, strak, Te. *cāra* a line, streak, stripe, *cāṟika* id. The second element is the common Dravidian word for skin: Ta. Ma. *tōl* skin, hide, leather, Te. *tōlu*, Ka. *togal*, *toval*, *tōl*, Tu. *tugalu*, Go. Klm. *tōl* id. The voicing of the initial consonant of the second part is automatic in such a compound; Skt. *ū* corresponding to Drav. *ō* has parallels in *kūṭa–* and *pūjā*. Such a descriptive name for the tiger arises very naturally, and as parallels we may quote Te. *cāṟala–mekamu* tiger (*mekamu* <*mṛga–*), and the frequent descriptive names in early Tamil poetry: *variyataḷ* ANāṉ° 58, *koṭu–vari* PNāṉ° 135. 1, *vari–vayam* id. 100. 7, *kuya–varị* Tiṇaim° 25., etc.

The first element occurs in number of other Skt. words: *śāra- sāra–* variegated colours, motley, speckled, *śāraṅga– sāraṅga–* dappled, spotted; m, a kind of spotted antelope, *śaripaṭṭa°*, *phala* chess–board, *kṛṣṇasāra– kṛṣṇāsāraṅga–* spotted black; m. the spotted antelope, and probably in *śārikā* a kind of bird, Maina. The fluctuation between *ś* and *s–* is a common feature in loanwords.

MW in defining *kṛṣṇasāra–* as 'chiefly black' – suggests a wrong etymology. Skt. *sāra–* (variant of *śāra–*) speckled is the second part of this word, and not *sāra–* essence, etc., which is quite a different word. This latter may also be from Dravidian:-

Sat. *sāra–* m. n. the substance or essence or marrow or cream or heart or essential part of anything; ingredient; nectar; cream, curds; water; pus; manure; Mar. *sār* essence, substance; sap, pith, marrow, cream, Hi, *sār* pith, cream, Or. *sāra* marrow, manure Sgh. *sara* essence, cream.

~Ta. *cāṟu* juice, sap; toddy; water in which aromatic substances are infused; pepper–water, *cēṟu* sap, juice; toddy,

honey, treacle; kernel, as of a coconut; pus, Ma. *cāru* sap as of a palm tree; infusion, decoction; broth of soup, Ka. *cāṟu* sap, juice; broth, *sāru* a relish in a liquid state, well-seasoned sauce, broth, pepper-water, Tu. *sāru* sap; soup, broth, *cāru* a kind of pepper-water, Te *cēru* tamarind soup or broth.

The specialised meaning 'broth', etc., which develops in some of the Dravidian languages is found also in Mar. *sār* a dilute mixture of tamarinds, mangosteins, and similar fruits squeezed in any pulse-decoction, or in water, with salt, asafoetida, etc.

The other word for tiger in Sanskrit, *vyāghra-* bears a strong resemblance to some Drav. words with the same meaning Ta. *vēṅkai* tiger, Ma. *vēṅṅa*, Te, *vēgi* id., which can hardly be accidental. The Skt. word has probably been borrowed from Dravidian, and altered by popular etymology (as if from *vy-ā-ghrā*). From Skt. the word has travelled westwards: Pers. *babr* Arm. *vagr* (Uhlenbeck, Worterb s. v.) Whether there is any connection with the words for 'cat' (Ta. *veruku*, Ka. *berku*, Go *warkār*, Malt. *berge*, Kur. *berkhā*: ef. E. H. Tuttle, Dravidian Developments p. 16) is a question that can be left for the time being.

48

Skt. *śūrpa-* n. a winnowing basket or fan, VS., etc.

~Ta. *tūṟṟu* to spread, strew; to winnow, Ma. *tūṟṟuka* to scatter; to fan and winnow grain, Ka. *tūṟu* to drive off the chaff from grain by means of the wind, to winnow, *tūṟruvike* winnowing, Tu. *tūpu* winnowing, as grain, *tūpuni* to winnow, fan, Te. *tūrpiḍi* winnowing, *tūrpettu* to winnow, Kui *sīrpa* to shake out, sprinkle.

South Dravidian *t-* here represents an original sibilant, as frequently (see BSOAS. xi (1944) p. 339, Ta. *tuppu*, etc.; ibid. p. 349, Ta. *tūr* etc.)

49

Skt. *sikatā* f. sand, VS., etc.,has the following cognates in Iranian: OPers. *θikā* sand, gravel (Benveniste, BSL 30, 60), Sogd, *šykth* sand (Benveniste. JRAS. 1933, p. 43), Pashto *šəga* sand, Orm. *sage*, Par. *sǝ̃ á*, Mj. *sü̆gya* Yd. *sigioh* id., Bal. *six* sand, barren land, Oss. *sijīt*, *sigit* etc., earth soil (Morgenstierne, EVP. p. ·3, IIFL. ii, 245). The irregularity in th correspondence of the initial in Indo-Aryan and Iranian led Morgenstierne to regard the eastern Iranian words as borrowed from IA, while Benveniste was inclined to regard the Sanskrit word as borrowed from Iranian. The irregularity, however, in not confined to the correspondence between Indo-aryan and Iranian. Morgenstierne (EVP. 73) remarks that 'in the Dard languages we find a bewildering variety of forms which seem to be derived from, or in some way associated with *sikatā*', and quotes the following forms: E. Pash. *sȧ*, *seȧ*, Kashm. *sĕkh*, Burush. (lw?) '*soh*' f., W. Pash *siyēl*, *sēl* m., Shina *sigal* f., Chiliss, Gowro *sɨgil*, Torw. *sigul*. m., Baskarik *sügüt* f., Khow. *šuyūr*, Kati *cü* m., Waig *šȧ*, Ashk. *šȭra-*. As phonetic irregularity is often a sign that a word has been borrowed from some non-Aryan source, it is worth while comparing the following Dravidian words meaning 'sand':—

Ka. *usiku*, *usigu*, *usige*, *usuku*, *usuvu*, etc., sand, Te. *isuka*, *isumu* sand, *esalu* id., Go. (Maria) *usakā* sand. The Dravidian words here appear to have developed a prothetic vowel when compared with the Indo-Iranian forms. This is supported by a comparison with Finno-ugrian, since these words have a fairly obvious cognate in Fi. *hiekka* sand (*h* - < *š* -). Such prothesis is not usual before sibilants in Dravidian, but it must be remembered that several sibilants (usually represented by *s* *ś*, and *š* in Finno-ugrian) have fallen together in Dravidian, and there may have been such a tendency before

the comparatively rare *š*– which is here attested by Finno-ugrian. The fact that the initial vowel fluctuates between *u*– and *i*– in Kanarese and Telugu also points in this direction.

50

Skt. *hintāla*– m. The marshy date tree, Phoenix paludosa, Hariv., etc.

~ Ta. *īntu* date-pakm, *īñcu*, *īccam-paṉai* id. Ma. *ītta*, *īttal* Phoenix dactylifera, Ka. *īcal*, *īcil* the wild date tree, Phoenix silvestris, Tu. *īñcilu*, *īcilu* the wild date tree, Te. *īta* the wild date-tree, *īdu īdādu* id., Kui *sīta* a small date.

An initial sibilant is often lost in South Dravidian, and it is clear from the Kui form that it has happened here. An intermediate stage was probably *h*–, such as we find now in Kuvi and the Maria dialects of Gondi, and this is reflected in Skt. *hintāla*-. An original *s*– is preserved in Pkt. *sindī* wild-date. An initial *k*– in Kur. *kīndā* date-palm is dffii-cult to account for, but it is worth while noticing that Geiger (Singh. Gramm. 39. 2) observes a similar variation in Singhalese between *kutul* n. of a palm tree, alternating with *hitul* = Pa. *hintāla*–.

The Skt. word appears to have been influenced in form by *tāla*– palmyra palm (Pkt. also *tāḍa*–), which is itself a loanword from Dravidian: Ka. *tāṟ* Palmyra tree, Borassus flabelliformis, Te. *tāḍi* id. (Kitt. no. 101).

Alphabetical list of Sanskrit words: *āgāra*– 31, *aṭṭa-aṭṭāla*- 1, *aḍḍaṇa*– 1, *adhara*– 2, *alasa*– 3, *alga*– 4, *ārabhaṭa*– °*ī* 5, *āsphāl*– 21, *ukha*– °*ā* 6, *uñch*– 7, *kaṅka*– 8, *kara*– 9, *karaṭu*– *kareṭu*– 8, *karoṭa*– °*ī* 10, *karaka*- 18, *karkrāṭuka-karkareṭu*– 8, *karkaśa*–18, *kallola*– 3, *kavaka*– 11, *kavaca*, 11, *kavara*–°*ī* 12, *kavala*– 13, *kuṭ*– *kuṭi*– *kuṭila*- 15, *kuṭa*– *kuṭi*– °*i* house 15 *kuṭa*-pot 15, *kuṭṭ*–15, *kulattha*– 14,*kūṭā*- 15,*kūrpara*–16, *koṭa*–15, *koṭi*–15, *kaurukuca* 17, *krakaca*-18,*khaṇḍ*–*khaṇḍa*-19 *khara*– *kharu*- 18, *kharapaṭa*– 20, *goṇi* 11, *capeṭa*– °*ā* 21,

carpaṭa- 21, *cipaṭa- cipiṭa-* 21, *cikkaṇa-* 22, cikkhalla- 22, *cīra-* 23, *cīvara-* 23, *cela-* 23, *cumb-* 24, *taṭa-* 25, *taḍāga-* 25, *taraṅga-* 26, *tarala-* 27, *talina-* 28, *tāla-* 50, *tubara-* 29, *tubari °ikā* 29, *dadru-* 30, *nagara-* 31, *nīvāra-* 32, *paṇpaṇa-* 33, *paṇḍa*, etc., 34, *parāga-* 35, *picc- piccaṭa- pich-* 36, *picchā picchala- °ila-* 37, *piṭaka-* 39, *puṅkha-* 38, *puṭa-* 39, *puttikā* 39, *pulina-* 40, *pusta(ka)* 41, *pūj-* 42, *pota-* 41, *potikā* 41, *biva-* 43, *bhūti-* 40, *maru-* 44, *mastu-* 45, *moraṭa- moraṇa-* 45, *mruc, mluc-* 46, *lahari-* 3, *vīci-* 27, *vīj- vyaj-* 26, *vyāghra-* 47, *śāra- sāra-* 47, *śāraṅga- sāraṅga-* 47, *śārdūla-* 47, *śila-* 7, *śūrpa-* 48, *sāra-* 47, *sikatā* 49, *hintāla-* 50.

LOAN WORDS IN SANSKRIT

The break-up of Indo-European linguistic unity was accompanied by a rapid and wide expansion of the area in which languages of this family were spoken. This expansion proceeded at the expense of pre-existing languages which were replaced by languages of the Indo-European family. These languages did not give way before influencing the newly introduced forms of speech both in vocabulary and other respects. This becomes clear at once from a perusal of the etymological dictionaries, where it can be seen how large a proportion of the words in each language are devoid of satisfactory etymologies, But investigation of the loan-word problem in Indo-European is rendered difficult by the completeness with which in most cases the indigeneous languages have been overwhelmed. In Western Europe the victory of the IE. languages has left only Basque as an isolated remnant of an earlier form of speech. Fragmentary remains of languages in the Greek and Italian peninsulas have survived in a small number of documents, but the information they supply is small and inadequate.

The case is quite different in India. Here although Indo-aryan has occupied the greater part of the country it has not succeeded in completely ousting the earlier linguistic groups. Excluding Tibeto-Burman languages which hardly belong to India proper, the non-Aryan languages of India can be divided into three groups: (1) Burushaski isolated by itself in two valleys in the north-west. (2) The Munda or Kolarian Family represented by a dozen or more languages spoken by primitive peoples in Eastern and Central India. (3) Most important of all, the Dravidian languages forming a solid block in the south, and represented by smaller languages in the central and northern parts of India, reaching in the

case of Brahui as far as Baluchistan. There is therefore plenty of material to work on in studying the sources of the non-Aryan elements in Sanskrit and the languages derived from it. In the case of this last mentioned group this evidence is not merely to be sought among languages spoken at the present day, since Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, and Telugu have respectable literatures, which in the case of Tamil takes us back almost 2,000 years in the history of the language.

A short survey of the work that has been done and the prospects of future investigation forms the subject of this paper. That Sanskrit, particularly the later classical language, contains a large non-Indo-european element is plain enough to see. The expectation that a large percentage of this might be explained from the existing non-Aryan languages of India, has already been shown to be fully justified, and there is no doubt that a very large proportion of the words without etymologies in Sanskrit will eventually yield to treatment of this kind.

Of the three language familes mentioned the least Is to be expected from Burushaski on account of the restricted area in which it is found and the fact that it is only known from modern times. As far as I am aware no Sanskrit words have been explained from this source, and although the possibility is always to be borne in mind, we must at the same time remain aware of the difficulties with which any such attempts are confronted. To illustrate this we may quote a word of somewhat obscure meaning which occurs in the Vedic literature, namely *kīlāla-*. The contexts make it sufficiently clear that the word means some kind of milk-product, but it is not possible to be more specific than that. The word is clearly borrowed from some non-Aryan source otherwise we would not find a guttural before the vowel *–ī–* (Wack., AIGRi., § 123). In later Sanskrit the word went out of use, except artificially and incorrectly in the sense of 'blood', its

place being taken by the variant form of *kilāṭā-*. In the north-west similar words are still use, namely Shina *kirāri* a milk product made by Gujars, Khow. *kiḷāḷ, kiḷāri* cheese when kept, Yidgha *kirāṛ* Kafir cheese, Pashai *kirāṛ*.

In Burushaski, too, we find the word in the form *kīlāy* curds made from biestings. Dealing with a non-Aryan word, and one current only in a restricted area of the north-west, we have a strong case for ascribing the word to Burushaski which is the most ancient language in these parts. The difficulty of course is to find any proof, since Burushaski has borrowed so many words from the neighbouring languages that we cannot be sure that this word also has not been acquired by it like many others in recent times. This difficulty could only be got over if it were possible to connect Burushaski with some other group of languages and establish by scientific comparison its ancient vocabulary. This has not yet been done. An attempt has been made to show its connection with the Caucasian languages,[1] but the basis of proof is too slender. It may turn out to be so, but more evidence will have to be produced.

Turning to the second group, the Kolarian languages, we are on somewhat firmer ground. In this field some decisive work has been done in tracing some common Sanskrit words to this source, and also the position of the languages has been made clear by the demonstration of their connection with the languages of Further India. The relationship between the Kolarian languages of India, and the Mon-Khmer group further east was noted early (LSI iv 10-11) and finally

1. R. Bleichsteiner, Die wershikisch-burischkische Sprache im Pamir-gebiet und ihre Stellung zu den Japhetiten des Kaukasus, Wiener Beitr. z. Kulturgeschichte u. Linguistik i, 289-331.

demonstrated by W. Schmidt.[1] Schmidt's theories have been generally accepted, but recently there has been some not very effective opposition. W. Hevesy, who made an unscientific attempt to connect these languages with Finno-ugrian,[2] attacked the Austro-asiatic theory in this connection.[3] Lately T. A. Sebeok, in an article in *Language*, has also taken up a sceptical position with regard to the Austro-asiatic theory. It must be emphasized that these criticisms are not at all effective or convincing. It is of course easy to pick out errors in Schmidt's book, such as the inclusion of Indo-aryan (*concol*, *goram*, *tito*), Persian (*dil*, *tear*, *husiar*), and Arabic (*julm*) words among his comparisons. But when all this has been pruned away, there till remains enough clear and unambiguous material to make it quite evident that the languages in question are genealogically related. They have in common the basic principles of the structure of the languages, notably the system of building up words by means of a complicated system of prefixes and infixes, together with the most basic elements of the vocabulary, the numerals from one to six, the parts of the body, and so forth.

It is necessary to insist on this from the point of view of our persent subject, since such work as has been done in this direction has been based on the theory of this relationship. That is to say that Sanskirit words have been compared directly with words occurring in Austro-asiatic languages outside India, and it is not supposed that these words were imported into Sanskrit from those regions, but that they were acquired in India from people speaking languages related to

1. W. Schmidt, Die Mon-Khmēr Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens u. Austronesiens, 1906.

2. Finnisch-ugrisches aus Indien. Wien, 1932.

3. BSOS vi, 187 ff.; cf. Schmidt's reply BSOS vii, 729 ff.

these. A good example is the Sanskrit word for 'banana' *kadalī*. J. Przyluski[1] demonstrated quite clearly the Austro-asiatic origin of this word by quoting words occurring in languages in the Malay peninsula and some other Mon-Khmer languages: Sak. Sem. *telui kelui*, etc., Southern Nicobar *talūi* plantain, Khmer *tut taloi* banana tree. Palaung *kaloi* plantain. He was not at the time able to quote anything from the Kolarian languages of India, but the word has since turend up in Savara *kintēn-ǝn* banana, a fact which helps to demonstrate the correctness of his procedure.[2]

As might be expected the names of Eastern plants unknown to the Aryans before their arrival figure largely in this list of loanwords. Besides the word for 'banana' just mentioned we have also the words for betel (Skt. *tāmbūla-*: see ib. pp. 15 ff.). cotton (Skt. *karpāsa-*: ib. pp. 23 ff; add also Skt. *picu* cotton whieh can be compared with the unprefixed forms he quotes: Črau *paç*, *baç*, Stieng *pahi*; whence also the Dravidian words Ta. *pañci*, *pañcu*, Ka. *pañji*), gourd (Skt. *alābu*: Malay Peninsula *labu*, *labo*, Khmer *lbow*, etc., ib. p. 155), mustard (Skt. *sarṣapa-*: Malay *sesawi*, etc,; Przyluski and Regamey BSOS vii/703), and ginger (Skt. *śṛṅgavēra*: Savara *singer-ǝn*, contracted form *sin-ǝn* Khasi-s'ing; of. Burmese *kyang* (pronounced *jin*), from the same source Ta. *iñcil*). Among animals native to India Skt. *mātaṅga-* elephant, is convincingly explained from this source (ib. p. 129: Sak. *mēntoṅ* elephant, from Austro-asiatic *taṅ* hand, of. *hastin-*).

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1 Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India p. 4.

2 But his analysis of the word (ka-ta-lī) is open to some doubt. It is probably that Sak. Sem. *tel-*, etc., and Savaru *-tēn* is the radical element and that the *k/t* alternation in Sak. Sem. *telui, kelui*; Khmer *taloi*: Palaung *kloai* is phonetic in nature, and due to the proximity of -l- to the initial consonant.

There are also words of a more general character. A word which appears late in Sanskrit, *jim-*, *jemati* to eat, and is widely spread in the modern Indo-aryan languages, Hi. *ievnā* to eat, *jimānā* to feed, Mar. *jevnē* to eat, etc., is derived from the usual Kolarian word meaning the same thing: Santali *jām* to eat, Kurku *jome*, Juang *jim*, Savara *jim*, etc. etc. (R. L. Turner, Nepali Dictionary s. v. *jiunār*). This is also one of the words common to the Kolarian and Mon-Khmer languages (Schmidt, no. 74).

The Indo-aryan were in contact with peoples of the Austro-asiatic family very early in their career. The name of Indra's celebrated opponent *Śambara-*, who figures in the *Ṛgveda*, is a Kolarian ethnic or tribal name identical (with the common nasal infix) with the word which appears in later Sanskrit as *Śabara-* and at present in the form *Savara* or *Sōrā* is applied to a people speaking one of the most important languages of this group. We can see quite clearly from the *Ṛigveda* that the struggle was no short or easy affair, and the mention of 100 forts would seem to show that the enemies of the Aryans were organized in fairly extensive political units and had attained to some degree of material civilization. In consequence of the victory of the Indo-aryans and their eventual occupation of the whole of the Ganges valley, these languages have now been driven to isolated and out of the way spots, and their speakers live in a comparatively primitive state of civilization.

It is certain that great deal more will be added to what has already been discovered in this field, but it will be a long time before the subject can be properly treated. The first thing necessary is that all the existing Kolarian languages should be made available to scholars by the provision of grammars, texts, and dictionaries. At present adequate information is available only for three of the languages:

Santali, Mundari, and Savara. For the other languages the material available is scanty, and in some cases almost non-existent. It is necessary that this work should be done soon, as languages of this kind are liable to become extinct in the near future under present conditions. When this has been done a comparative study of the whole group needs to be undertaken, and the group itself studied in detail in comparison with the Khasi, Mon-Khmer, and allied languages. On such a carefully prepared scientific basis the study of the Austric element in Sanskrit and the more modern stages of Indo-aryan can eventually be firmly established. At the present rate of progress no one can say when this is likely to be done, but it is to be hoped that the rate will be quicker in the future. As things are it will be easily understood how great is the danger of erroneous and superficial comparisons. I have quoted above a number of examples which seem to me free from reasonable doubt, but not all the suggestions which have been made are in this category, and at present it must be emphasized that this is a subject in which to move with a certain amount of caution.

We now come to the third and most important group of the non-Aryan languages of India, the Dravidian languages. These languages are the most important not only numerically and culturally, but also from the point of view of their influence on Sanskrit. That is to say a very much greater number of Sanskrit words can be traced to this source than can be traced to an Austro-asiatic source. Even allowing for the fact that these studies are only in their beginning, the fact still remains that the number of Dravidian words in the Sanskrit vocabulary that have already been established as such, is so much greater than the corresponding number for Austroasiatic, that whatever knowledge is added in the future, the relative importance of the two language groups is not likely to be reversed.

Though the comparative study of the Dravidian languages is not in the state that it should be, it is in a better state than that of the Kolarian languages. In the first place more information is available about the individual languages, although a great deal still remains to be done. The literary languages are naturally well documented. and we have good dictionaries, though the grammatical study of the ancient texts still remains largely a desideratum. Quite a number of the minor languages have also been adequately treated. We are well informed on Brahui, kuru*kh*, and Kui, moderately on Malto, Kuvi, and Gondi. The greatest gap consists of two of the Central Group of languages–Kolami and Parji-about which we have still practically no information. The minor languages of the south–Toda, Kota, etc.–have recently been studied by Professor M. B. Emeneau, and the results of his work are in course of publication.

A comparative study of the Dravidian and Sanskrit vocabularies soon reveals a large number of common words which are not to be explained as Sanskrit words borrowed into Dravidian, but as Dravidian words adopted by Sanskrit. This is clear because the words in question have no Indo–european etymology, and because the comparative etymological study of Dravidian shows them to belong to the basic vocabulary of that group of languages. Many of the words are, apart from the expected phonetic modifications, almost identical both in form and meaning, so that even with a superficial knowledge it is possible to recognize a great number of them. The following list contains some of the examples where the identity of the Sanskrit and Daavidian words is striking and obvious:–

Skt. *anala*- fire || Ta. *a<u>n</u>al* fire; (vb.) to burn, Ma. *anal* fire, heat, Ka. *analu* heat. F. O. Schrader, KZ 5 6 pp. 125–7.

Skt. *ēḍa-* sheep, ram, wild goat | Ta. *yāṭu*, *āṭu* goat. sheep. Ma. *āṭu* id., Ka. *aḍu* goat, Tu. *ēḍu*, Tod. *āḍu* id., Te. *ēṭa* ram, Go. *yēṭi* a she-goat, Kui *ōḍa* a goat, Kur. *ēṛā*, Malt. *ēṛe* id., Brahui *eṭ* she-goat, female hill-goat. Gt.[1] 519, Kitt[2]. no. 34, J. Bloch, BSOS v, 740; cf. BSOAS xi, p. 595.

Skt. *kaluṣa-* turbid | Ta. *kaluẓ* to become turbid, agitated *kaluẓi* disturbed water, puddle; further Ta. *kalaṅku* to be stirred up, agitated, Ma. *kalaṅṅu*, Ka. *kalagu* id., Kur. *k͟halak͟hnā* to distrub, make muddy as water, Malt. *qalge* id., Kitt, no. 358, J. Bloch BSOS v, 738; cf. BSOAS xi, 132.

Skt. *kāñcika-* rice-gruel, *kāñiika-*, *kāñji* id. || Ta. *kañci* rice-gruel Ma. *kaññi*, Te. Ka. Tu. *gañji* id. BSOS ix, 717.

Skt. *kuṭ-* to become crooked or curved, *kuṭi* curvature, *kuṭika-* bent, crooked, *kuṭila-* crooked || Ta. *koṭu* crooked, *kuṭa* curved, bent, *kuṭakkam* bend, curve, *kuṭaṅku* to bend, Ma. *koṭu* bent, Ka *kuḍu* bent, crooked, Cald.[3] p. 584, Kitt. no. 360; cf. TPS 1945, p. 94.

Skt. *kuṭi* hut, cottage, house || Ta. Ma. *kuṭi* hut, house, home, Ka. *guḍi* house, tent, temple, Kui *kūṛi* hut etc., BSOAS xi, 137.

Skt, *kuṭṭ-* *kuṭṭayati* to bruise crush, pound || Ta. *kuṭṭu* to strike with the fist, Ka. *kuṭṭu* beat, strike, pound, Malt. *qoṭe* to knock, strike, beat, Kur. *k͟hoṭṭnā* to break, etc. BSOAS xi, 134.

Skt. *kuntala-* hair of the head | Ta. Ma. *kūntal*, Ka. *kūdal* id. Kitt. no. 9.

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1. Gt. H. Gundert, Die dravidischen Elemente im Sanskrit, ZDMG 23 (1869), pp. 517-530.

2. Kitt.: F. Kittel, A Kannada-English Dictionary. Preface pp. xiv-xlv (List of Sanskrit words of presumed Dravidian origin).

3. Cald.: Robert Caldwell, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Third Edition, London, 1913.

Skt. *kuvalaya-* lotus | Ta. *kuvaḷai*, Ka. *kōmaḷe*, *kōvaḷ*, *kōḷe* id. BSOAS xi, 135.

Skt. *khala-* threshing-floor || Ta. *kaḷam* threshing-floor, open space, Ma. *kaḷam* id., Ka. *kaḷa*, *kaṇa* threshing floor, Tu. *kala* a square, a bed (of flowers, etc.), Te. *kalanu* threshing-floor, Kui *klai* id., Kur. *k͟hal* a field, Malt. *qalu a* fied on the hills. BSOAS xi, 133.

Skt. *khala-* a rogue | Ta, *kaḷ* to steal *kaḷvan* thief, *kaḷavu kaḷavu* theft, deception, Ma. *kaḷam kaḷavu*, Ka. *kaḷḷa* a thief, Te. *kalla* deceit, *kallari* a rouge, Kur *k͟halb* theft, *k͟halbas* thief, Malt. *qalwe* thief, *qa lwi* theft *qalwo* stealthily, secretly. Gt. 522, Kitt. no. 194; BSOAS xi, 133.

Skt. *ghūka-* owl | Ta. *kūkai*, Ka. *gūgi*, *gūge*, *gūbe* Te. *gūbi*, *gūba* id. BSOS ix, 721.

Skt. *tāmarasa-* lotus | Ta. *tamarai*, Ka. *tāmare*, *tāvare*, Te. *tāmara*, Kuvi *tamberi* id. Kitt. no. 100.[1]

Skt. *tāla-* palmyra palm, Pkt. also *tāḍa* id. | Ka. *tāṟ* Palmyra tree, Borassus flabelliformis, Te. *tāḍu* id. Kitt. no. 101; TPS 1945, p. 120.

Skt. *tubara-*, *tuvara-* astringent || Ta. *tuvar* to be astringent astringency, Ka. *tuvara*, *tovara*, *togaru* astringent, an astringent taste, Kui *torpa* to be astringent, TPS 1945, p. 106.

Skt. *nakra* crocodile | Ka. *negaṟ* crocodile, Tu. *negaru* a sea animal, the vehicle of Varuṇa, *negaḷu* an alligator, crocodile, Te. *negaḍu* id Kitt. no. 57, J. Bloch, BSOS v, p. 739[2].

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1. Skt. *tāmarasa-* is a *mleccha-* word according the *Sābarabhāsya* on Jaimini-sutra i, 3, 5.

2. Bloch wonders whether these words are connected with Skt. *makara-* alligator, Go. *mugrāl*, Kui *magori* id. The examples given of a Dravidian change *n-* > *m-* in BSOAS xi, 333-4, and 609 support this view.

Skt. *nand- nandati* to rejoice | Ta. *nantu* to prosper, flourish, be luxuriant, to be proud, glow with pride or splendour.

Skt. *nīra-* water | Ta. Ma. Ka. *nīr* water, Tu. *nīru* Te. *nīru* id., Kui *nīr* juice, sap, essence, Brah. *dīr* water. Cald p. 571, Kitt. no. 157, J. Bloch, BSOS v, 739; cf BSOAS xi, 611.

Skt. *paṇava-* drum, tabor | Ta. *paṇai* a kind of drum, Ka. *paṇe, paṇa* id.

Skt *pallī, pallikā* house-lizard | Ta. Ma. Ka. Tu. *palli*, Te. *balli* id. Kitt, no. 59, M. B. Emeneau, Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class, Phil, xii, no, 13, p. 261; cf. BSOS xi, 718.

Skt. *pallī* small village | Ta. *paḷḷi* hamlet, small village, herdsman's village, Ma. *paḷḷi* hut, small settlement of jungle tribes, Ka. *paḷḷi* a settlement, abode, hamlet, village, Te. *palli palliya* a small village, hut, Kur. *pallī* in the compound, *eṟpā-pallī* house and family. Cald. p. 573, Kitt. no 233, M. B. Emeneau, op. cit. p. 260.

Skt. *punnāga-* Calophyllum Inophyllum | Ta. *puṉṉai* id., Ma. *punna*, Ka. *ponne*, *punnike*, Tu. *ponne*, Te. *ponna*.

Skt. *puṣpa-* flower | Ta. Ma. *pū* flower, Ka. *pū*, *puvvu*, Tu. *pū*, Te *pū pūvu* Ta. also *pūppu* flowering,[1] Kur. *pūmp* flower, Malt. *pūpu* id. Cald. p. 587, Gt. p. 527, Kitt. no 110, J. Bloch, BSOS v, 740.

Skt. *phala-* fruit | Ta. Ma. *paḻam* fruit, Tod. *pōm* id., Ka. *paḻa* ripeness, *paṇ.*, *paṇṇu* a ripe fruit, Tu, *parndu* a ripe fruite, Te. *paṇḍu* a fruit, to ripen, Go. *paṇḍānā* to ripen, Kur. *pañjinā* id., *paṇḍkō* half-ripe. Cald. p. 548, Gt. p. 519, Kitt. no. 111, J. Boch, BSL. xxv, p. 17; BSOS v, 740. Cf. also Pkt. *poṇḍa* fruit.

1. Also 'menstruation'. Compare Skt. puṣpitā (Pādatāditaka 40) puṣpavati (ibid, 38,39), puṣpini, Pkt. (Sattasai) pupphavai, in the samed sense.

Skt. *bīja-* seed | Ta. *vitai, vittu, viccu* to sow; seed, Ma. *vitekka* to sow, *vittu* seed, Ka. *bittu* to sow; seed, Tu. *bittu* seed, *bittuni* to sow, Kot. *vit-* to sow, Te. *vittanamu* a seed, *vittu* id.; vb. to sow, Go. *witānā* to sow, (Maria dial.) *vījā* seed (Lind), Kuvi *vīchanga* (Fitzgerald) semen, Malt. *bīchi* seed (Droese). From the same source, Sinh. *bittaraya* egg, seed (Maldivian *bis*).

Skt. *maṣi* ink, lampblack | Ta. *mai* blackness, ink, lamp-black, Ka. *masi* dirt, impurity, soot, lampblack, ink, Te. *masi* blackness, soot charcoal, ink, Tu. *maji* coal, black powder, ink, Kui *māsi* dirt. Kitt. no. 297.

Skt. *mīna-* fish | Ta. *mīṉ*, Ka. *mīn* (u), Te. *mīnu*, Go. *mīn*, Kuvi, Kui *mīnu*, Malt *mīnu* id. Cald. p. 573, Gt. p. 529, Kitt. no. 72, J. Bloch, BSOS v. 739, Charpentier, Monde Oriental xviii, p. 19.

Skt. *mukuṭa-* crest, diadem | Ta. Ma. *mukaṭu* top, highest part, head, Ta. *mucci* crown of the head, tuft of hair on the head, Ma. *mukaḷ* top, summit ridge, roof, Ka. Te. *mogaḍu* ridge of a roof, Tu. *mugili* turret, minaret, top as of a temple, Go. *mukur* comb of a cock. Gt. p. 530; cf. BSOAS xi, 131.

Skt. *mukula-* bud | Ta. Ma. *mukiḻ* a bud, Ta. *mukai* to bud, a bud, Ta. *mokkuḷ* a bud, Ka. *muguḷ* a bud; to bud, *mugi* to close as a flower, *moggu, mogge* a bud, Te. *moguḍu* to be closed as a flower, *mogga* a bud, Kui *mogo* bud. Gt. p. 530, Kitt. no. 117.

Skt. *muktā* pearl | Ta. *muttu, muttam* pearl, Ma. *muttu* a pearl; a kernel, Ka. *muttu*, pearl, Tu. *muttu* a pearl, a drop, Gt. p. 529, Kitt. no. 73, P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, History of the Tamils p. 23.

Skt. *muraja-* a drum, Pkt. murava- id. | Ta. *muracu* a drum, *muravam* a drum; noise, reverberation, *mural* to sound, Ka. *more* to hum, buzz, Te. *moravu* to sound.

Skt. *laśuna-* garlic | Kui *lesuṛi*, Malt. *nasnu* id. BSOAS xi, 614.

Skt. *lālā* saliva, spittle | Ma. *ñōla*, *nōḷa*, Tu. *ñōli*, *nōṇe*, Ka. *lōḷe*, Malt. *lāli*, Kur. *lāle* id. BSOAS xi, 339, 612–13.

Skt. *valaya-* bracelet | Ta. *vaḷai* circuit, bracelet, etc.; vb. to bend; to be round; to surround, Ka. *baḷe* bracelet, *baḷasu* to go round, encircle, encompass. Cald. p. 574, Gt. p. 520, Kitt. no. 299.

Skt. *veḷā* limit, boundary, sea-shore; time, occasion | Ta. *vēlai* boundary, sea-shore, *vēli* fence, Ma. *vēli* hedge, fence, Tu. Ka. *bēli*, Kot. *vēǰ* fence, Go. *velum* fence (Patwardhan). Kittel no. 411.

Skt. *śakala-* scales of a fish; bark, *śalka-*, *śalkala-* id. | Ta. *cekiḷ* skin or rind of fruit; fish-scales, *citaḷ*, *cetiḷ* id., Tu. *caguḷi* the rind of a fruit or vegetable, Malt. *cheglo* the rind of a fruit.

Skt. *śava-* corpise | Ta. *cā* to die, *cāvu* death, Ka. *sā* to die, *sāvu* death; a corpse, Te. *caccu* to die, *cāvu* death, etc. Cald. p. 574, Gt. p. 529, Kitt. no. 331.

Considering how many words there are in which the relationship of Sanskrit and Dravidian is fairly obvious, it is not surprising that attention was early turned to this subject. Caldwell devotes a section of his work on Dravidian[1] to such words, and Gundert in an article published in 1869[2] gives a list of words which he considers Sanskrit to have acquired from Dravidian. Later (1894) Kittel published a long list in the preface to his Kannada-English dictionary. Yet in spite of the efforts of these scholars Sanskritists and, to a greater extent still, students of Indo-european continued to ignore this side of their subject. Thus one would not

1- *Op. cit.*
2. *Op. cit.*

gather from Uhlenbeck's Sanskrit Etymological Dictionary that anything at all had been done in this direction and it would be easy to collect from the specialist literature a large number of misguided attempts at providing Indo-european etymologies for words for which good Dravidian etymologies had already been pointed out.[1] The reason for this was partly the almost complete neglect during this period of Dravidian philology itself, and partly the lack of scientific method which is visible for instance in Kittel's treatment of the subject. In his list the true tends to be hidden among the false, and it is not surprising if those who had not the means of independent judgment were inclined to ignore the whole.

Since Kittel's Dictionary very little work has been done on this subject. Most worthy of note are two articles by Jules Bloch,[2] who approaches the subject with rather excessive scepticism and caution.

It is now time to say a few words on the principles to be followed in deciding whether a word common to both is originally Sanskrit or Dravidian. The first and most obvious essential is of course to make sure that the word has no Indo-european etymology. Since the Indo-european vocabulary of Sanskrit has been long worked out and established, and as it is hardly likely that much that is new remains to be found in this field, the investigator with even a moderate knowledge of Indo-european linguistics is here on fairly safe ground, and can proceed with reasonable confidence. The question that next arises is whether a Sanskrit word of unknown etymology may not itself have been borrowed into

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1. A good example is the derivation of *eḍa-* sheep out of *m̥zd-: *meda-*, K. F. Johansson, IF. ii, p. 35. See further p. 18 ff.

2. Sanskrit et dravidien, BSL xxv (1924), pp. 1–21; Indo-aryan and Dravidian, BSOS v (1929), pp. 730–744.

Dravidian and not necessarily be derived from that source. This kind of thing of course happens endlessly, since in the dictionaries of Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, and Telugu the Sanskrit vocabulary is appropriated wholesale. But in the case of the words we are discussing there are reasons to show that this has not happened, and they are briefly summarized here.

Firstly the currency of the word in the Dravidian languages is to be considered. If a word occurs widely in Dravidian and is of the nature of a basic element in the vocabulary a corresponding word in Sanskrit, if without Indo-european etymology may reasonably be considered a borrowing from Dravidian. Thus Dravidian *mīn* fish and *nīr* water, from which Skt. *mīna-* and *nīra-* are derived, are words which occur, if not in all, at, any rate in the great majority of the Dravidian languages, and further it is evident to a comparative student of these languages that they are the basic Dravidian words for denoting these things. Similarly in the word for crow:-

Skt. *kāka-* | Ta. *kākkai*, Ma. *kākka*, Ka. *kāke*, *kāge*, Tu. *kakke*, Te. *kāki*, Kui. *kāva*, Go. *kāwāl*, Kur. *k̲h̲āk̲h̲a*, Malt. *qáqe*, Brah. *k̲h̲āk̲h̲ō*, Kitt. no. 40; BSOAS xi, 133. The universality of the word in Dravidian is evidence for the derivation from this source of the Sanskrit word, which otherwise might be thought to be onomatopoeic. The same applies to the Dravidian words corresponding to Skt. *ēḍa-* sheep, *kuṭṭ-* to pound, *paṇḍa* eunuch, weakling (TPS 1945, p. 109), and so forth.

Secondly a word is shown to be Dravidian if it is clearly to be derived from some Dravidian root. Take for instance the word for 'sandal-wood' :-

Skt. *candana-* sandal wood, tree, powder or ointment | Ta. *cāntu* pigment, paste, sandal paste; sandal tree, *cāntam* sandal, *cāttu* to daub, smear, anoint, Ma. *cāntu* a kind of

ointment or paste of sandal, etc. Ka. *sādu* a fragrant substance, perfume, Tu. *sādike* smearing, Te. *cādu* to rub into a paste; sb. a beauty spot (of paste).

Here the Dravidian word for sandal is quite clearly seen to be native since it is etymologically connected with other words meaning 'to rub into a paste', and the specific meaning 'sandal' has developed out of a more general meaning[1]. Many similar examples can be quoted. Ka. *sāvu* death; corpse is derived from the Dravidian word *sā* to die, so if it is to be connected with Skt. *śava* corpse, it can only be done by assuming that the Sanskrit word has been borrowed from Dravidian and not vice versa. Ta. *vaḷai* Ka. *baḷe* bracelet, are transparent by derived from a verb meaning 'to surround, encompass,' so they cannot be borrowed from *valaya*–; it must be the other way round.[2]

A third point to be considered is the antiquity of the word in Dravidian. In so far as this is inferable by comparative study it has already been touched on under point one. But apart from this literature in the case of Tamil takes us back as far as the early centuries of the Christian era, and to a period when Indo-aryan influences, linguistic and otherwise were comparatively restricted. The number of Sanskrit loanwords in the early texts is surprisingly small, and consequently

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1. That the sandal is native to Malabar is a commonplace of Skt. literature: Śakuntalā, Act. iv, kadham dani tādassa aṅkādo paribbhaṭṭhā Malaapavva- dummūlidā via candanaladā desantare jīvidam dhāraissam, Kāvyamīmāmsā p. 81, Tāpāpahāracaturo nāgāvāsaḥ surapriyaḥ | nānyatra Malayād adrer dṛśyate candanadrumaḥ, and so forth. The Dravidian verb, Ta. *cāttu*, Te. *cādu*, seems also to have been adopted in the Sanskrit word *ucchādana*– or *utsādana*– rubbing the body with oils or perfumes, which cannot be referred to a Sanskrit root.

2. There is, of course, a Skt. verb *val*– to go round, etc., but it only appears late and therefore itself almost certainly borrowed from Dravidian.

the occurrence of a word in Tamil so early is an argument for its being Dravidian; if on the other hand it only appears late it is more likely to have been borrowed. There is a word for 'creeper' common to both Dravidian and Sanskrit.

Skt. *vallī* | Ta. Ma. *vaḷḷi*, Ka. *baḷḷi*, Te. *valli*. Kitt., IA i, p. 235. The Tamil word is common in the early literature, and not among the type of words that are borrowed from Sanskrit at this period. They are cultural and technical words,[1] whereas *vaḷḷi* is a term for a common natural object, and such words are not borrowed at this period. Later *valli* with a different -l- is adopted from Sanskrit. For 'coral' we have:-

Skt. *pravāla-* | Ta *pavaṟam*, *pavaḷam*, Ma. *paviṟam*, Ka. *pavaḷa* Tu. *pakala*, *pavaḷa*, Te. *pagaḍamu*, *pavaḍamu*, *pavaḍamu*, Kuvi *pagnelu*.

The Tamil word occurs in the earliest texts, and coral is prolific on the coasts of South India, so we may reasonably consider Sanskrit to be the borrower. In the case of a word meaning 'cheek':-

Skt. *kapola-* | Ta. *kavuḷ* cheek, elephant's temple or jaw, Ma. *kaviḷ*, the Dravidian word occurs apparently only in Tamil and Malayalam, but it is ancient in Tamil and therefore almost cerainly genuine. The Sanskrit word, which has no IE etymology, may therefore be derived from this source[2].

Just as the comparative antiquity of a Tamil word increases the likelihood of its being genuine, so the comparative lateness of the appearance of a word in Sanskrit makes

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1. Ta. *aracaṉ* king, *tūtu* messenger, *tavaci* ascetic, *teyvam* divinity, *taccaṉ* carpenter, *nēmi* felly of a wheel, *kammiyaṉ* smith, mechanic, and so forth.

2. There are, however, some similar Austro-asiatic words quoted by S. K. Chatterjee, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India p. xxii.

it more likely that it has been borrowed. *ghūka-* owl is quoted only from very late works, whereas Ta. *kūkai* id., is recorded in the earliest texts, that is to say a good deal earlier than the corresponding Skt. word. *pallī* lizard, is quoted only from a comparatively late lexicon. The fact that words are found only lexicons, which means that they had never a wide currency in Sanskrit, also points to their being loanwords. Another instance is:-

Skt. *kūpuṣa-* bladder | Ta *koppuḷam* bubble, blister, bladder, Ma. *koppuḷ* etc.; cf. BSOAS xi, 355.

Fourthly the phonetics of the words in question may often be used to establish that a word is originally Dravidian. Take for instance a word meaning 'jasmine':-

Skt. *mallikā* jasmine | Ta. *mullai*, Ma. *mulla*, Ka. *molle*, Te. *molla* id. BSOAS xi, 39.

There is no reason why a Sanskrit *-a-* should give Tamil *-u-*, Ka. Te. *-o-* if Dravidian were the borrower, but assuming that Sanskrit is the borrower, the correspondence is natural: Sanskrit has no short *-o-* and consequently has substituted short *a*. The same has happened in the case of a word meaning 'flesh'.

Skt. *pala-*, *palala-* flesh | Ta. pulavu, flesh, raw meat, *pulāl* id., Te. *pola*, *polasu* flesh, meat. BSOAS xi, 139.

There is a similar correspondence between Sanskrit short *a* and Dravidian *e* in the following word which is originally Dravidian:-

Skt. *arka-* Calotropis gigantea | Ta. *erukku*, Ma. *erikku*, Ka. *erke*, *ekke*, *yakka*, Tu. *ekkamāle*, *ekkame* id. Kitt. no 83, In the case of the name of the tree *Pandanus odoratissimus*:-

Skt. *ketaka-* | Ta. *kaitai*, *kaital*, Ma. *kaitā*, Ka. *kēdage*, Te. *gēdage*, the dipthong *-ai-* in the Tamil and Malayalam words is an indication that the word is originally Dravidian.

Consonants as well as vowels peculiar to Dravidian are also useful as an indication. Thus *ṟ* in Ka. *tāṟ* palmyra palm, Te. *tāḍu*, Skt. *tāla-*, and also a word meaning 'black':-

Skt. *kāla-* black | Ta. *kāṟ* blackness; blemish, fault, defect, Ka. *kāṟ* blackness, *kaṟgu* to turn black. Gt. 520, Kitt. no. 172, J. Bloch, BSOS v, 738. Likewise *ṟ* in Ta. *kaṟai*, *kaṟavu* tax: Skt. *kara-* (TPS 1945, p. 88) and Ta. *pōṟṟu* worship, adore, honour: Skt. *pūj-* (TPS 1945, p. 114).

Again when the word in its Sanskrit form has suffered from assimilation or loss of consonants, it is clear that Sanskrit, not Dravidian, is the borrower. Instances are Skt. *puṅkha-* feathered part of an arrow: Ta. *puṟuku*, Ka. *piḷku* (TPS 1945, p. 110), Skt. *uñch-* to glean, *proñch* to rub, wipe: Ta. *uriñcu* to rub, scrape (TPS 1945, p. 85). Further:-

Skt. *campaka-* Michelia champaka | Ta. *ceṇpakam*, *caṇpakam*, Te. *canupaka* (beside *campaka*, *sampega*) id.

Skt. *ankola-* Alangium hexapetalum | Ta. *aṟiñcil*, Ma. *aṟiññil* id. BSOAS xi, 131.

Skt. *kajjala-* soot, lampblack | Ta. *karical* blackness. From the Sanskrit side phonetic irregularities may point to a word being borrowed:-

Skt *kulpha- gulpha-* ankle | Ta. Ma. *kuḷampu* hoof of an animal, Ka. *koḷagu*, *koṇagu* the hoof of a beast, whether cloven or not.

The alternation between surd and sonant is rare and irregular in Sanskrit, but a common phenomenon in Dravidian, and suggests that the word is derived from this source. Similarly the fluctuation in the initial in the case of Skt. *jaṭā* matted locks; fibrous roots, *śaṭā*, *saṭā* matted locks; mane of a lion, and possibly *chaṭā* collection, heap, is reminiscent of Dravidian conditions, and consequently it is reasonable to regard Ta. *caṭai* matted locks; fibrous roots; thick bunch,

Ka. *jaḍe, jeḍe* matted hair, are native Dravidian words and that Sanskrit has borrowed.

Fifthly a comparison of the meanings of the Sanskrit and Dravidian words is often useful. For instance:-

Skt. *śaṭha-* fraudulent, deceitful; a cheat, rough | Ka. *coṭṭa, cotta, soṭṭa, sotta* crookedness, *saṭi, seṭe, seḍe* to become crooked or bent, Te. *coṭṭa* crookedness, lameness.

The meaning 'deceitful' develops secondarily from the meaning 'crooked', and this shows Dravidian to be original. Likewise in the case of the following:-

Skt. *malla-* wrestler, athlete | Ta. *maḷḷa<u>n</u>* strong, powerful person, warrior, commander, military chief, youth, inhabitant of agricultural or hilly tract; the fact that the Tamil word has a much wider meaning than the Sanskrit is in favour of its being genuinely Dravidian. On the other hand Ta. *malla<u>n</u>* wrestlerm pugilist, with a meaning identical with Skt. *malla-* is to be regarded as a loanword. Such are some of the general principles according to which one may proceed, and in addition there are the particular arguments whcih arise in the case of each individual word. On the whole it is possible to arrive at a considerable degree of certainty, although there are always some cases about which it is difficult to be sure.

For the greater part of the loanwords in Sanskrit there has been no serious attempt to find an Indo-european etymology. For quite a number obviously weak or bad etymologies have been proposed. In some cases, though very few, the claims of Indo-european and Dravidian are nicely balanced, so as to leave room for difference of opinion as to the real origin. Liden, KZ 40, 260, explained Skt. *pallī* lizarh as a fem. of * *palla-*, a Pkt. form out of * *padla-* <* *padra-* '(a snake) with legs'. All the intervening stages, phonetic and semantic, are purely hypothetical, and it is

certain that any one who was acquainted with the fact that such a word was widespread in Dravidian, would not have wasted time proposing such an etymology. Further examples:–

Skt. *tūla-* cotton; down (haṃsa-tūla-) | Ta. Ma. *tūval* feather, down, etc. BSOAS xi, 348.

This has been derived (WP i, 709) from the root *tū-* to be big, strong thick, and connected with words as different in meaning as Gk. πύλη, τύλος swelling, hump, and Alb. *tul* a piece of flesh without bones. The Dravidian words are identical in meaning, and obviously provide a much better etymology.

Skt. *kōraka-* bud | Ta. *kuṟai* sprout, shoot, Kui *kōṛu* new shoot or bud, Go. *kōṛsānā* to sprout, Kur. *khōrnā* to shoot out new leaves, *khōr* leaf-bud, new leaves, Malt. *qōroce* to sprout, BSOAS xi, 135.

The Sanskrit word has been connected (Petersson, ap. WT i, 371) with a whole host of words which have nothing to do with it, all supposed to be derived from a root *qeu-* to bend. On the other hand the Dravidian etymology strikes us as correct at once.

Skt. *mayūra-* peacock | Ta. Ma. *mayil*, Tu. *mairu̥*, Kot. *mīl*, Tod. *mirsh* BSOAS xi, 608–610.

There is a vague derivation of Skt. *mayūra-* from a root *mei-* to cry, which is obviously worth little in view of the Dravidian words.

Skt. *śerabha-* and *śērabhaka-* names of snakes, *sīra-* boa constrictor | Ta. *cērai*, *cārai* rat-snake, Ma. *cēra*, Ka. *kōre*, *kyāre*, Tu. *kēre*, Te. *sāre-pāmu* id. Kitt. no. 78.

The derivation of the Skt. words from a root meaning black (WP i, 361: Skt. *śyāva-*, etc.) is nothing but a mere possibility; on the other hand the Sanskrit and Dravidian words are very close, both in from and meaning.

Skt. *bala-* strength | Ta. *val* strong; strength, *vallai* strength, power, *vallāṉ*, *vallōṉ* a strong man, *valam* strength, power, *vali* id.; (vb.) to be strong, hard; to overpower, *valuppu*, *valumai* strength, Ma. *val* strong, powerful Ka. *bal* strong, firm, big, *bali* to grow strong, *balume*, *baluhu* strength, power, *ballitu* that which is strong, firm, etc. Tu. *balu* big, powerful, *balime* strength, *bala* id., Te. *vali*, *valuda* big, etc. Cald. p. 587, Kitt. no. 398.

It is exceedingly doubtful whether Indo-european possessed the letter *b*. The current etymology Skt. *bala-*, Gk. Lat. *debilis*, OB *bolje* magis, plus, is one of the examples quoted. The Latin word can alternatively be explained as from **de-hibilis*, the Gk. word by comparing Cretan δὲλτον. εγέθόν. The Dravidian words are certainly native and not derived from Sanskrit. There is a stronger case for deaivied from Sanskrit. There is a stronger case for deriving the Sanskrit word from Dravidian than for reconstructing this doubtful Indo-european root.

Skt. *daṇḍa-* stick, cudgel; stalk, stem, handle | Ta. *taṇṭu* stalk, staff, Ma. *taṇṭu* id., Ka. *daṇṭu* stalk, *daṇḍa* staff, Tu. *daṇṭu* stalk, *deṇṭe* walking staff, stick, *daṇḍu* stalk; oar, paddle *daṇḍa* stick, Te. *daṇṭu* stalk; cf. also Ta. Ma. *taṭi* stick, staff, Ka. *taḍi* thick staff cudgel, *daḍi*, *daṇḍi* id.A. Master, JBBRAS v (1929), p. 107.

The Skt. word is classically compared with G. δὲνδcον tree, and this could be justified as an instance of dialectal phonetic change (R. L. Turner, JRAS 1924, p. 566: cf. *āṇḍa-*, *caṇḍa-*). On the other hand the Dravidian words, although to some extent influenced latterly by Sanskrit, are fundamentally a native group. We might have here a case of accidental similarity, but the fact that the effect of Dravidian on the Sanskrit vocabulary is so very extensive, does weigh in favour of Dravidian origin.

A special class of words for which some very doubtful Indo-european etymologies have been proposed consists in those supposed to contain an irregular, Prakritic cerebral.[1] There are of course in Classical Sanskrit a certain number of Prakritic forms such as *bhaṭa-* soldier, *bhaṭṭa-*, *bhaṭṭāraka-* lord, etc. The same principle has been applied even to words occurring in the *Ṛgveda*, as well as to a great number of other words of doubtful etymolgy. In many cases such etymologies are very dubious or palpably false, in a considerable number the words turn out to be of Dravidian origin. Such are *kuṭila-* crooked: Ta. *koṭu*, etc., *kuṭi* house: Ta. *kuṭi*, Skt. *kūṭa-* in its various senses, Skt. *puṭa-* basket of leaves (TPS 1945, p. 111), Skt *kaṭu-* pungent, sharp, bitter, is derived from the Dravidian word which appears as Ta. *kaṭu* severe, punget, sharp, bitter, Ma. *kaṭu* extreme, impetuous, fierce, *kaṭukka* to grow hard, sharp, worse as pain, Ka. *kaḍu* intense, vehement, severe, Tu. *kaḍu* pungent, severe, extreme, Te. *kaḍu kaḍīdi* excessive, extreme, difficult, hard, Kui *kaṭi nōmeri* a severe fever, *kaṭru kāu* a species of fruit with a pungent taste, *kṛō* pungent, Malto *qaṛqe* bitter, Kur. *k̲h̲aṛk̲h̲ā* bitter; pungent, hot as spices; harsh, cutting, as words. With Sanskrit *kaṭa-* mat, we can compare Go. *kaṭṭī* a palm leaf mat which can be derived from Dravidian *kaṭṭu* to tie, fasten together, construct. Skt. *kaṭa-* in *vikaṭa-* huge, extensive, *saṃkaṭa-* narrow *utkaṭa-* high, immense, is probably to be equated with Ta. *kaṭai*, Ma. *kaṭa*, Ka. Tu. *kaḍe* end; side, direction, as certainy is *kaṭa-* in Skt. *kaṭākṣa-* side-glance: Ta. *kaṭaikkaṇ*, Ka. *kaḍegaṇ id.* (Kitt. no. 350]. Skt. *kuṇḍa-* pot, vessel; pit, is derived from Dravidian (F.B.J. Kuiper, BSOS ix, 691 ff.; cf. BSOAS xi, 138) and has naturally nothing to do with Gk. κυλίνδω to roll. Skt. (BUddh-) *aṇṭhati* to

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1. These are collected by Weckernagel, *Altindische Grammatik i*, § 146.

visit, is not derived from *arthate* but from Dravidian. Ta. Ma. *aṇṭu* to approach, come in contact with. Even when no Dravidian correspondences have been pointed out, this type of etymology is often obviously unsound. It is not possible to reconstruct an Indo-european word on the basis of a hapax legomenon in Sanskrit and a rare Gk. dialect word as is done in the case of Skt. *kevaṭa-*: Gk. καίατα Skt. *kāṭa-* hole, is explained as being out of *karṭa* id., no doubt rightly, but the variant form *garta-* shows the word to be foreign to Aryan (probably Dravidian: cf. *kulpha-*, *gulpha-*) and the phonetic development here will be one that has taken place outside Indo-aryan. When the Dravidian elements have been picked out, and the other false etymologies discarded, very little remains out of this collection of so-called Prakritic cerebrals in Sanskrit.

This is enough to illustrate the kind of false etymology which tends to be produced by studying Sanskrit purely from the Indo-european point of view. It would be easy to multiply examples, but it is sufficient here to emphasize the importance of the loanword question in Sanskrit from the point of view of Indo-european studies. For the current understanding of Indo-european it is necessary that all non Indo-european elements in the individual languages should be rigorously excluded. This has certainly never been completely done in the case of Sanskrit, and presumably the same thing applies in the other branches too. In the case of Sanskrit the position is very favourable for doing this, because the languages from which Sanskrit has drawn, particularly the Dravidian group, are still available for study. It is not so easy to do this in the case of other languages, where such materials are not available, but a lesson may be drawn from Sanskrit as to the kind of bad etymology which should be avoided, and in particular Indo-europeanists should continually bear in mind, which they have never done to the proper

extent, that all the languages since the beginning of their separate existence and primitive Indo-european itself, have always been liable to the influence of foreign languages. To study the Indo-european languages without a lively awareness of this fact, merely from the point of view of Indo-european itself can only lead to a series of pitfalls not only in matters of detail but also in matters of principle.

The adoption of Dravidian words by Sanskrit has already bagun by the time of the *Rgveda,* and continues throughout the later stages of Sanskrit, and is continued in the Middle and Modern Indo-aryan languages. The Dravidian words that occur in the Rgveda are specially interesting. Of the words already mentioned in this paper the following are found in the *Rgveda*: *kaṭuka-* bitter, *kuṇḍa-* pot, *kulpha-* ankle, *kūṭa-* mallet, *khala-* threshing-floor, *daṇḍa-* stick, *puṣpa-* flower, *phala-* fruit, *bala-* strength, *bīja-* seed, *mayūra-* peacock; in addition we have *lāṅgala-* plough (BSOAS xi, 131, 603), *muñja-* a kind of grass (BSOAS xi, 609), *ukha-* a part of the body (TPS 1945, p. 85) *pūj* to honour (TPS 1945 p. 114). To these we can add:-

Skt. *araṇi-* stick for kindling fire by rubbing || cf. Ta. *arai* to rub, grind, Ma. *arekka* id., Ka. *are,* Tu. *arepuni* id., Te. *rācu* to rub, grind.

Skt. *ulūkhala-* mortar || Ta. *ulakkai* pestle, Ma. *ulakka,* Ka. *olake* id., Te. *rõkali* a large wooden pestle. J. Bloch, BSOS v, 742.

Skt. *karambha-* flour or meal mixed with curds, a kind of gruel | Ta. *kuṟampu* to be stirred up, mixed; (sb.) a mixture, liquid of thick consistency such as sandal paste; thickened curry, broth, Ma. *kuṟayuka* to be mixed as pap, *kuṟampu* thickened fluid.

Skt. *kāṇá-* blind in one eye | Drav. (Ta., etc.) *kāṇā* negative participle of *kaṇ-*, *kāṇ-* to see. Gt. p. 521, Maṛia Go. *kānā* blind (Lind).

Skt. *kuṇāru* having a crooked or withered arm, cf. later *kuṇi-* id. | Ta. *kuṇakku* cruokedness, *kuṇalai* bending of the body: Ta. Ma. Ka. *kōṇ* crookedness; angle–Skt. *koṇa-* angle, corner, BSOAS xi, 341.

Skt. *kulāya-* n. nest | Ta. *kuṟām, kuṟāam* crowd, flock, shoal, from vb. *kuṟu* to assemble. Cf. Ta., etc., *kūṭu* vb. to assemble, *kūṭu* sb. nest.

Skt. *kúla-* herd, troop, flock, etc, | Ta. *kuṟu, kuṟuvu, kuṟuu* assembly, flock, herd, swarm, *kuṟumu* to flock together. BSOAS xi, 139.

Skt. *naḍá-*, *naḷá-* reed | Ka. *naḷḷu* reed, Ta. *nāṇal*, Ma. *ñāṇal*, Ka. *nānal* id. (<**ñāḷal*), cf. Ta. *ñeḷ* to be hollow, *ñeḷḷal* a hollow, Tu. *nalle* a hollow, *nalli* shinbone (cf. Skt. *naḍaka-* the hollow of a bone), Ka. *naḷḷu* a nalla, or depression in the ground (cf. Hi. *nālā*, etc., in this sense).

Skt. *pìṇḍa-* lump, clod, etc. | Ka. *peṭṭa, peṭṭe, peṇṭe, heṇṭe, heṇḍe* a clod, lump of earth, Te. *peḍḍa, pella* id., Te. *piṇḍali* a lump or mass, Ka. Te. *piṇḍu* to squeeze together.

Skt. *bila* hole, cave | Ta. *viḷavu* cleft, crack; vb. to split, *viḷ, viḷḷu* to crack, split, Ma. *viḷḷu* to crack, burst open, *viḷḷal* a hollow, rent, *viḷḷu* a crack, aperture.

Skt. *maṇḍūka-* frog | The frogs' habit of sleeping in the ground during the dry weather, and waking up in the rains is the subject of one Vedic hymn (vii, 103). The word can be derived from the Dravidian words *maṇ* earth (Ta. Ka., etc.), and Ta. *tūṅku* to nod, sleep (among other meanings), Ma. *tūṅṅu*, Tu. *tūṅguni*, Ka. *tūgu*, etc. Drav. *ṇ+t* produces *-ṇḍ-* in *sandhi*[1]

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1. Skt. *maṇḍūkī* a particular part of an elephant's leg (Palakāpya, ed. A. S. S. p. 529) is quite a differvnt word from this and also of Dravidian origin. Compare Ta. *maṇṭi* kneeling, Ka. maṇḍi what is bent; the knee, Tu. maṇḍi knee, Go. (Maria) meṇḍā the knee, Kui menda id.

Skt. *vriś*- finger, RV. i, 144, 5 | Ta. Ma. *viral* finger, toe, Ka. *beral*, Tu. *birelu* Te. *vrēlu*; Kui *vanju*, pl. *vaska*. Kuvi *wansu*, pl. *waska* (Schulze), Go. *wirinj*, pl. *wirisk*, Go. (Maria) *vers* pl. *versku* (Lind). The Sanskrit word is closer to the form that appears in the Central Dravidian languages than to the form in the Southern Group.

Here are some twenty-five words. It is not many, compared with the number in later Sanskrit, but it is enough to show that the process had already begun at this early period. This is of particular importance on account of the historical conclusions we are enabled to draw. At the time of the *Rigveda* the Indo-aryans had not penetrated far into India, and were separated by large tracts of territory from what is now the most northerly boundary of the main body of Dravidian languages. The Dravidian words in the *Rigveda* are evidence that at one time the Punjab and adjacent areas were at this ancient period occupied by Dravidian-speaking peoples. This confirms the conclusions that have been drawn from the position of the isolated Brahui language in Baluchistan, and makes it exceedingly unlikely that they have wandered there as a nomadic tribe from some other part of India. These words, and the continual adoption later of Dravidian words, make it necessary to conclude that the greater part of Northern and Western India, now Aryan-speaking, was originally Dravidian-speaking. The Kolarians also appear in the *Rigveda*, and there is no doubt that they had by this time pushed up the Ganges valley, so as to meet the oncoming Aryans. But their influence on Sanskrit was never on anything like the same scale as that of Dravidian, which means that they cannot have formed a major element of the population in this parts of the country.

The adoption of Dravidian words by Sanskrit continues steadily throughout the whole history of the language. At

each later stage more such words are found. The great majority have become established by the time of the epic poem, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, and of these a large proportion are first quoted from these texts. In Prakrit we find additional Dravidian words which are not known to Sanskrit, and again in the modern Indo-aryan languages there are Dravidian words which are not recorded earlier in Indo-aryan. These words have not in the main been taken from the existing South Dravidian languages, although in many cases these are the only languages which we are in a position to quote. The source of the main body is to be sought rather in the extinct Dravidian dialects which have been replaced in large areas of India by Indo-aryan. There are now islands of Dravidian speech in the central and northern parts of India, gradually being overwhelmed by Indo-aryan. In earlier times these Dravidian areas must have been bigger and more numerous, with Indo-aryan spread more thinly. This is why we find the influence of Dravidian on Indo-aryan so great, and also why it has continued to be active during each successive period. It also makes more complicated the business of defining the Dravidian element in the Sanskrit vocabulary. The particular languages or dialects from which most of these words are derived are no longer available: we can only find those words which they shared with other Dravidian languages, particularly the cultivated and well-preserved languages of the South. But there must have been many words current in the ancient Dravidian as once spoken in the Punjab, Rajputana, and Western India, to which the counterpart is not to be found in the existing languages. Likewise it is to be expected that there will be in Sanskrit not a small number of Dravidian words, which it is not now possible to trace.

Just as Sanskrit has been influenced by the non-Aryan languages of India, in the same way it would not be surprising

if these languages, namely the Dravidian and Kolarian families, had mutually influenced each other. In the present condition of the study of these languages. this is a subject which it is not possible to tackle properly, but there is one word which deserves consideration in this respect and that is Skt. *lāṅgala-*, Pa. *naṅgala-* plough. The corresponding Dravidian words are very close in form–Ta. *ñāñcil, nāñcil,* Ma. *ñēṅṅōl*, Ka. *nēgal*, *nēgil*, Tu. *nāyeru̥*, Tod. *nēkhel.* Te. *nãgali*, *nãgĕlu*, Go. *nāngēl*, Kui *nāngeli*-- so that it would be natural to assume that the Indo-aryan was borrowed from Dravidian. On the other hand Przyluski[1] has pointed out some Austro-asiatic words that appear very similar and claimed them as the origin of the Sanskrit word. The words he quotes are Khmer *aṅkăl*, Čam. *laṅan*, *laṅal*, *laṅar*, Khasi *kalynkor*, Malay *tengala*, *teṅgāla*, Batak *tiṅgala* Makassar *naṅkala*- The connection of these words with the Sanskrit and Dravidian words is obvious as also with Santali *nahel*, Muṇḍari *nāel* The word is clearly Austro-asiatic, since it is built up by a series of varying prefixes on a base **kal* or **kel*. The simplo form appears in Sanskrit as *hala-* plough with a change *k*>*h* which is characteristic of Santali and the neighbouring Kolarian languages. In this case Dravidian has borrowed from Austro-asiatic. Sanskrit has acquired the word either directly from an Austro-asiatic source, or equally possibly from an intermediate Dravidian source.

Another word which Tamil has acquired from an Austro-asiatic source is *iñci* ginger. In this case the Sanskrit word *sṛiṅgavera-* contains apparently as its second element the Dravidian word, Ta., etc. *vēr* root, an indication that here too Dravidian is the intermediary between Austro-asiatic and Sanskrit. Mention has also been made of Ta. *pañci*

1. Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India-pp. 8 ff. His further attempts to connect Skt. *liṅga-*, *lāṅgūla*, etc., with this word are of course fanciful.

cotton, which seems to be of Austro-asiatic origin and no doubt full investigation would reveal more instances of this kind as well as instances of the reverse kind, namely the influence of Dravidian or Kolarian.

In speaking of the Kolarian languages it was pointed out that they were connected with languages to the east of India. The connections of the Dravidian languages lie in the opposite direction. Bishop Caldwell, who first studied those languages comparatively, maintained that they were related to the Finno-ugrian or Ṡcythian languages as he called them, and collected some evidence to support this. Later F. O. Schrader published an article in support of the same point of view, and more recently I have studied the comparative vocabulary dealing with the parts of the body, and this shows a wide degree of correspondence. This theory has not yet become an established tenet of linguistic science, although the theory of the north-western origin of the Dravidians has found its way into most of the history books. The reason for the failure of this theory to become generally established, is not so much lack of evidence and material for proof as the fact that practically no work has been done on the subject, and that Dravidian philology has always remained a neglected subject. Suffice it to say here that the correspondences between the two language families are so numerous and far-reaching that they cannot well be explained any other way than by the theory of common origin. From the point of view of the subject of the present paper it will be necessary ultimately when the Dravidian loanwords in Sanskrit are treated in a complete and final way, to give not only the immediate Dravidian etymologies, but also the further Uralian etymologies where such are to be found. At present it will be sufficient to give a few examples by way of illustration.

Skt. *músala-* pestle | Ka. *mase, masagu* to rub, grind, Kur. masmasr- to shampoo, Go. *masītānā* to sharpen, *masol* whetstone, J. Bloch. BSOS v, 741; also with rhotacism Ta. *maṟuku* to be crushed, pounded || Fi. *musertaa* to crush, pound, Hu. *muszolni.*

Skt. *kaṣāya-* astringent, Pa. *kasāya-, kasāva-,* and Pa. *kasaṭa-* bitter, acrid, nasty | Ta. *kai, kaya, kaca* to be bitter, *kayar, kacar* bitterness, Ka. *kay, kasa, kasaru, kasi, kahi,* Tu. *kaipe* bitterness, *kasa* brackish, Te. *cẽdu, cẽti* bitter, *kasu* raw, unripe, *kasũgāya* an unripe fruit, *kasuru* id., Kuvi *kasa* sour, Go. *kehke* bitter, Malt. *qɔse* to become bitter, insipid or vapid || Fi. *katkera* acer, amarus, Kar. *kačkera* id., LpN. *guocca* putridus, Cher. *kočo, kača, kåtšə,* etc., bitter, sour, Voty. *köš,* Hg. *keszerű.*

Skt. *tarala-* unsteady, trembling, tremulous || Ka. *teraḷ* to move, shake, tremble, quiver, Te. *teralu* to move, toss about, *taralu* to stir, move, etc., TPS 1945, p. 106 || SamO. *tarelnan* zittern, Osty. *toren* zitternd, *torilem* zittern, MdM. *tɛŕəms* vibrieren, beben.

Skt. *lālā* saliva, spittle | Ma. *ñōḷa, nōḷa* spittle, saliva, Tu. *ñōli* anything sticky, gummy, glutinous, viscous; saliva; phlegm, *nōṇe* saliva, spittle, Ka. *lōḷe* saliva, slaver; tenacious mucus, phlegm, Malt. *lāli* spittle, Kur. *lāle* id. || Hg. *nyál* saliva, *nyálka* saliva, mucus, Fi. *nill* lubricum quid, pituita, *nilja* id., Est. *nolg,* g. *nole* rotz, MdE. *nolgo,* M. *nolga* id. Zyr. *ńil'eg* schleim; schleimig, schlüpfrig, LpN. *ńivle* schleim. BSOAS xi, 339.

Skt. *tūla-* cotton, *haṃsa-tūla-* the soft feathers of down of a goose | Ta. *tūval* feather, down, etc., Ma. *tūval* a feather, a painter's brush, *toppal* feathers, Tod. *tūf* pen, feather, etc. | Fi. *sulka* feather, LpN. *dolgge* id., Md. *tolga,* Cher. *tol* id., Xyr. *tyl, tyv* feder, flugel, Vog. *taul, tawel,* id., Hg. *toll* feather, pen. BSOAS xi, 348.

Skt. *piccha-* tail; peacock's tail; hair-bundle, *puccha-* tail | Ta. *pittai* a tuft or bundle of hair, *pottakam* feather of a peacock, Tu. *pucce* braided or plaited hair, Malt. *pice* the feathers of a peacock's tail, *picale* a peacock in full plume, etc. | Cher. *poč* schwanz, schweif, Zyr. *bež*, Voty. *biž* id., Vog. *ponš* schwanz, etc. BSOAS xi, 349.

A more complicated case is presented by the following words:–

DRAVIDIAN: Tu *sūṅgu*, *tūṅgu* the beard of barley, etc., *cuṅge* awn, *tūṅgalu* awny, full of beard, as corn, Ka. *sunku* the bristle or beard of corn; with related meaning, Ta. *cīku*, *cīkam-pul* broomstick grass, *ūkam*, *ūkai* id. (>Hi. *sīk* the culm of the grass of which brooms are made).

FINNO-UGRIAN: MdE. *śuva* kaff, spreu, M. *śuva*, *śôva* bart an der ähre, *kalôń śuva* kleine fischgräte, Zyr. *śu* getreide, korn, etc., Cher. *šū* die kleie des hafers, Fi. *siikanen* ährenspitze, bart an der ähre, achel.

SANSKRIT: *śūka-* awn of grain, a spike, spicule *śuṅga-* awn of grain. In Iranian, Av. *sūkā* needle, is connected with Skt. *śūka-*.

Attention has been drawn to the similarity of the Indo-iranian and Finno-ugrian words and Jacobson[1] and others have considered that in this case Finno-ugrian has borrowed the word from early Aryan. But the existence of Dravidian words corresponding to the Finno-ugrian, shows that the words must be native in Finno-ugrian and not borrowed. It is the Indian and Iranian words that must have been borrowed, a fact which is further demonstrated by the phonetic relation between Skt. *śūka-* and *śuṅga-* which does not fit into any recognized Indo-european pattern. In view of its Iranian connection, however, Skt. *sūka-* is

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1. Arier and Ugrofinnen pp. 126 and 167.

not to be regarded as a loanword from Dravidian, but rather as a much earlier loanword acquired outside India, very likely from Finno-ugrian itself.

This brings us to the earliest period of the loanwords in Sanskrit, namely the primitive Indo-iranian period when there was contact between the Indo-iranians and speakers of early Finno-ugrian. It has long been known that the latter acquired a number of Aryan words at this period, particularly in the matter of numerals which have recently been fully discussed by A. S. C. Ross.[1] The tendency has been to look exclusively for the influence of Indo-iranian on Finno-ugrian and to ignore the possibilities of the borrowing being the other way round. In the case of the word *sūka-* the evidence from Dravidian points to the fact that the Indo-Iranian is the borrower. There are also some other words mentioned in this connection to which the same may apply. A notable example is the word for 'bee'-Fi. *mehiläinen*, Cher. *mükš*, md. mekš, Voty. *muš*, Hg. *méh* : Skt, *mȧks-*, *mȧksā*, *mȧksikā* fly. bee, Av. *maXkšī* Fliege. The Finno-ugrian words here are usually considered to have been borrowed from Indo-iranian, but there are two reasons which suggest that Indo-iranian may have been the borrower. Firstly the other Indo-european languages have no corresponding word and secondly the Finno-ugrian forms point to an original vowel *ĕ* in the first syllable. This latter point is important because the other Finno-ugrian loanwords show a phonetic system corresponding to that which has been reconstructed for Primitive Indo-iranian. It is obvious that, such being the case, it cannot be assumed without further argument, that Finno-ugrian is the borrower in this case.

These are the main lines on which research into the loan-words in the Sanskrit vocabulary can be undertaken.

1. TPS, 1944, pp. 45–93.

The subject is still only partly explored and much remains to be done. The full working out of Dravidian and Austro-asiatic philology is necessary, before a final and definitive exposition of the subject can be made. This is not likely to be done in a short time, but it is to be hoped that in the years to come Sanskritists will pay more attention to this neglected field. When all this material has been collected and subjected to scientific study, there is reason to believe that a very large proportion of the unexplained words in Sanskrit will be traced to their source. In the same way much will be found that will illuminate the study of the modern Indo-aryan vernaculars. Indian linguistics must be based on the combined study of the three major linguistic families together with their external connections. This is a vast field for investigation of which only the surface has so far been touched.

SANSKRIT AND THE PRE-ARYAN TRIBES AND LANGUAGES

The two subjects combined in this title may not at first sight appear to have very much to do with each other. They are, indeed, from many points of view poles apart. It is a fact that, as far as the more primitive tribes are concerned, Sanskrit civilization, in spite of the long period it has been established throughout India, has passed them by almost completely. On the other hand, some of the ancient pre-Aryan tribes, notably the southern Dravidian ones, have constituted themselves into considerable nations, retaining their own indentity and language, and at the same time permeated from an early period by Sanskritic (i. e. Aryan) culture. Furthermore, in the Indo-Aryan area the pre-Aryan populations have, for the most part, long since lost their tribal identity, having been absorbed into the composite society produced by the fusion of the Aryans and their predecessors. Fortunately for the linguist and the historian this process was never completed; and particularly in the mountainous belt that runs across central India, islands of Munda- and Dravidian- speaking peoples still remain as the modern representatives of pre-Aryan India. In other cases certain tribes, though they have adopted Aryan speech, have preserved their individuality and a culture of their own, e. g. the Khasas (D. N. Majumdar, the Fortunes of Primitive Tribes, pp. 110 ff.)

The fusion of Aryan and pre-Aryan can be exemplified in many ways and one of the most important ways in which it shows itself is in the linguistic development of Indo-Aryan. The Indo-Aryan language was introduced into India sometime in the second millennium B. C., according to the

usual run of opinion, and that period, in its earliest phase, i. e. as Vedic or, to put it more precisely, Pre-Vedic and at this period the language was very nearly pure Indo-European. In the period of over 3,000 years which have elapsed since then, this Indo-European base has not only been subject to continual transformation within itself, but it has also continuously received accretions from the pre-existing languages with the speakers of which the invading Aryans merged.

DRAVIDIAN INFLUENCE ON INDO-ARYAN

It is by now quite clear that the most pronounced influence of this sort on Indo-Aryan has come from the side of Dravidian. Some of the commonest words in Sanskrit, e. g. *nīra* (water), *mīna* (fish), *mukula* (bud), *kuntala* (hair), *tāmarasa* (lotus), *tāla* (palmyra palm), and so forth, are immediately recognizable as the ordinary Dravidian names for these objects. Consequently, attention was first directed to this problem quite early. Robert Caldwell, as usual the pioneer in such matters, gave a list of 'words probably borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian tongues' (Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, pp. 567 ff). A few of Caldwell's identifications are off the point, but in the main they hold good. On the other hand, his list of 'Sanskrit affinities,' purporting to be words of common origin, i. e. implying the assumption of genetic relationship, can all be explained away as being either loan-words, like his first list or cases of accidental or fallacious resemblance. Another pioneer in this respect was H. Gundert who, in 1869, published a similar list in support of this theory ('Die Dravidischen Elemente im Sanrkrit', ZDMG., No. 23, pp. 517-30) A much more extensive list was later compiled by Kittel and published by him in the preface to his Kannada-English dictionary (1894).

As a result of his own work and that of Gundert, Caldwell was able to claim (op. cit., p. 575) that 'the indebtedness of Sanskrit in some particulars to the Dravidian languages seems now to be generally admitted', and to quote the distinguished European Sanskritist Benfey in support. In this respect, however, he turned out to be somewhat premature, since the practical effect of the work of the above three on European Sanskrit studies was next to nothing. This may be referred to two causes. In the first place, truth and falsehood appear very mixed up in the lists we have referred to, and it is easy to find points to criticize. To some extent this may have acted as a deterrent and raised suspicions about the over-all correctness of this method of approach. But even so it can only be a secondary cause, since it is quite evident that the main reason why these discoveries were neglected was the fact that at this period European Sanskritists paid practically no attention to Dravidian studies.

It was in accordance with this dominant tendency that C. C. Uhlenbeck's etymological dictionary of Sanskrit completely ignored the question of the influence of the Pre-Aryan languages on Sanskrit, even though many perfectly valid etymologies from Dravidian had already been pointed out. Another feature, characteristic of some of the scholarship of this period, deserves to be mentioned, namely, tendency to resort to tortuous reconstructions in order to find, by hook or by crook, Indo-European explanations for Sanskrit words. Nevertheless, in spite of even such measures, there remained a considerable mass of the Sanskrit vocabulary which was beyond even attempts of this nature.

Now fifty years later the position is considerably improved, and the importance of the importance of the influence of the pre-Aryan languages on Sanskrit has come to be

increasingly recognized. In accordance with modern developments, the new etymological dictionary by M. Mayrhofer takes the non-Aryan influence fully into account, while at the same time fully recognizing the possibilities of error attached to the early stages of such investigations (Kurdgefasstes etymologisches Worterbuch des Altindischen, Heidelberg, 1953).

DRAVIDIAN WORDS IN SANSKRIT

Concerning the question of Dravidian words in Sanskrit, I have written at length elsewhere, and do not propose to go into details on the present occasion. I intend rather to speak about certain results and general conclusions to be got on the basis of this material. The relative importance of various pre-Aryan people vis-a-vis the Indo-Aryans may be expected to be reflected in the degree of influence exercised on the Indo-Aryan language. From this point of view, it can be stated with little hesitation that Dravidian rates very high in this respect. The number of loan-words in classical Sanskrit from this source is very considerable. In comparison, the demonstrable influence of the Austro-Asiatic Kol or Munda languages seems to be comparatively small. There is a difficulty in this matter consisting in the fact that only a small number of languages belonging to the latter group have been investigated, and that their serious comparative study has not yet begun, as it cannot until adequate meterial is available. Nevertheless, even when allowance is made for this, it seems quite impossible that these languages can have exercised anything like the same degree of influence on Sanskrit as Dravidian. This being the case, one would be inclined to believe that in the north Indian areas occupied by Indo-Aryan the Dravidians had formed a more prominent part of the population than the Mundas.

Another important matter to be considered is the period at which most of these Dravidian loans into Sanskrit took

place. In the Vedic literature they are comparatively few, although a number of them have been pointed out, and consequently, we know that even at this early period the Aryans must have been in contact with Dravidians. Also the Vedic language was the possession of the sacerdotal class, and they zealously guarded its purity against the influence of *mleccha* languages and against the corruptions of the popular speech. Consequently, there was likely to be a considerable time-lag between the words becoming current in Indo-Aryan and their being admitted into the sacred language. It is therefore likely that many such words were in use considerably earlier than they appear in literature.

Coming next to the epic literature, we find that the bulk of the Dravidian words which have been accepted into Sanskrit are well established by this time. The epics in their final form are perhaps not very early, but the tradition they embody, including style and language, goes back a considerable time. Furthermore, these same words, which appear in the epics for the first time, turn up also to a large extent in the early Pali texts, and this certainly takes them back well before the Christian era. In view of these considerations, we may fix the period when Dravidian influence on Sanskrit was most strongly exercised as the late Vedic and early classical period. As regards the later history of Sanskrit, it is true that new words from various sources continue to appear in the centuries following, but the interesting thing is that very few of these appear to be Dravidian. Proceeding to Prakrit, the influx of new words is again abundant, but the percentage which can be found a Dravidian origin is comparatively small (A useful list of these was compiled by K. Amrita Row and published in *Indian Antiquary*, XLVI. pp. 33ff.). Again in modern Indo-Aryan there is a significant access of new words, but (leaving out the special case of Marathi) whatever the origin of this vocabulary, it is clearly not Dravidian.

SOME IMPORTANT CONCLUSIONS

Certain conclusions follow inevitably from these facts. It is not possible to account for these Dravidian words in Sanskrit on the theory that the source was the existing Dravidian languages of South India. This is impossible, because the period when the bulk of these words must have been acquired preceded that of any extensive contact between Aryan and South Dravidian. This begins in the Maurya period or, at the earliest, in the Nanda period, but it is not until the Āndhra period that we get any close connection between a section of the Aryans and the South Dravidians. It is posible that a few Dravidian words may have gained currency in this way, but as far as the origin of the majority of them is concerned, it is definiteyl. ruled out.

We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the Dravidian which exercised the main influence on Sanskrit was a Northern Dravidian. There is no difficulty in this assumption, since certain islands of Dravidian still exist in the North. These are Kurukh and Malto, and in the far west, the Brahui of Baluchistan. Of course, Dravidian on such a small scale, as it exists now in the North, could not have exercised any serious influence. So we must conclude that Dravidian was at one time extensively current in the North and very likely also (in order to account for its influence on Sanskrit) that it had been current in some of the main areas of Aryan settlement.

A consideration of the type of words adopted by Indo-Aryan leads to certain conclusions. We have on the one hand, for instance, such words as the names of Indian trees for which the Indo-Aryans cannot have had any words to begin with, and some of which one would therefore expect to find borrowed from Dravidian. Such are *ketaka* (*pandanus*

odoratissimus), *tāla* (palmyra palm), and so forth. But in addition to these, we find a considerable number which are 'unnecessary' inasmuch as Indo-Aryan was perfectly well supplied with words having these meanings already. Such are the above mentioned *nīra* (Aryan: *udaka*, *āpas*) and *mīna* (Aryan: *matsya*). Similar cases are *kānana*, forest (Aryan: *vana*); *kāca*, carrying yoke (Aryan: *vīvadha*); *kuntala*, hair (Aryan: *keśa*); and so forth. It is difficult to see how such words could have become current in Sanskrit, unless at one period there was a considerable amount of bilingualism in North India. The unnecessary adoption of, for example, Dravidian *nīra* is reminiscent of the Anglo-Indian slang in which, for instance, 'pawny' would commonly be substituted for the English word 'water'. Such usage was particularly common among the lower ranks of the army and corresponding grades elsewhere, but largely avoided in official English speaking and writing in India. Much the same was obviously the case in the later Vedic period in India. The official language consciously avoided the use of *mleccha* terms, though not with complete success, since they were not always detect ed On the other hand, they must have had considerable currency in the language of the lower classes during the bilingual period. In course of time, a considerable number were elevated to the status of literary words, and as such we meet them in the epics.

Another point that would be worth special investigation is these loan-words in modern Indo-Aryan. It is interesting to note that such words as *kānana*, *kuntala*, *mīna*, *nīra* are not preserved in modern Indo-Aryan, which preserves only the words of Indo-Aryan origin (Hindi: *ban*, *kes*, machl) or in the last instance, where there is excessive reduction in Prakrit (*uaa*), by a new Indo-Aryan formation. The same applies to many other presumable loan-words as well as to the Dravidian. For instance, beside the Indo-Aryan *hastin* (elephant),

there is a whole list of synonyms- - *gaja*, *kuñjara*, *mātaṅga*, *nāga*, etc.- which may very well have their origin in unknown pre-Aryan languages. Of all these words, however, it is the Indo-Aryan *hastin* which has maintained itself in the modern languages (Hindi: *hāthī*).

The comparative cessation of the accession of Dravidian words to the Indo-Aryan vocabulary is an indication that the extensively spoken Dravidian of North India, from which the major part of the Dravidian element in Sanskrit was derived, had by that time been generally replaced by Indo-Aryan. Of course, as mentioned above, there remain islands of Dravidian in the North to this day, and presumably, as we go backwards in time these will have been more numerous; but such remnants would never have the power seriously to affect Indo-Aryan, and that, as we have seen, was the case. It is also significant, during this later period, that the Southern Dravidian languages do not exert any major influence on Indo-Aryan, from which it is evident that they cannot have done so during the earlier period when contact between these Dravidians and the Indo-Aryans was very slight. We are left therefore with only one possible assumption, namely, of an extensive occupation by Dravidian speakers of some of the primary areas of Aryan settlement.

NON-DRAVIDIAN SOURCES

So far I have spoken mainly about Dravidian speakers and their influence on Indo-Aryan. At this point therefore it is time to put this influence in its proper perspective, since it must now be pointed out that, extensive as this influence has been, there also are to be found in Sanskrit (and the same applies to the later stages of Indo-Aryan) very many words which are clearly borrowed from some pre-Aryan source or sources, and which at the same time are not Dravidian. Some of these, of course, can be, and have been,

attributed to Austro-Asiatic, but the number of these which can be regarded as certain remains comparatively few. Further research will add to them, no doubt, but it is my opinion that, when all has been done in this direction which can be done, the number of loan-words in Sanskrit, which cannot be explained as either Dravidian or Munda, will remain considerable. It may very well turn out that the number of such words which cannot be so explained will outnumber those which can be. This is the impression that one gets, for instance, from the field of plant names, since so far only a minority of this section of the non-Aryan words has been explained from these two linguistic families. If we take for instance, the name of the jujube (zizyphus jujuba), we find four synonyms, all obviously non-Aryan words namely, *kuvala* or *kola*, *karkandhu*, *badara*, and *ghoṇṭā*; and none of these has been explained out of either Dravidian or Munda. Evidence such as this leads to the conclusion that there must have been several non-Aryan languages or families of languages which exercised an influence on the vocabulary of Indo-Aryan.

We may now briefly summarize the conclusions to which a survey of the non-Aryan words in Sanskrit would seem to point. In the first place, we have concluded that a form of Dravidian must have been extensively current in North India prior to the advent of the Aryans, and that over considerable areas this was the language which Aryans displaced. It is from here that the main source of the bulk of the Dravidian loan-words in Sanskrit is to be sought and not from the South Dravidian we know today. Apart from islands of Dravidian speech in the North, some of which are still extant, the process of the replacement of Dravidian by Aryan was completed before the Christian era, and coinciding with this the accession of Dravidian words to the Sanskrit vocabulary is reduced to small dimensions. As regards Kol or Munda,

the fact that words from this source are comparatively few in Sanskrit -- always making allowances for the fact that many members of this family are still but little known-- is against the hypothesis that languages of this family were current much further west than they are now found. The evidence as it is so far established would suggest that these languages in ancient times as well as now were situated only in eastern India. This is in agreement with the fact that their genetic relationships show that they were introduced into India from the East. Finally, it is always important to bear in mind that numerous extinct languages were current in ancient times. that such languages also influenced the Indo-Aryan vocabulary and that many of these must have belonged to families other than Dravidian or Munda.

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

It now remains to test the conclusions just set forth based on a consideration of the loan-words in Sanskrit by (a) reference to certain ethnological and linguistic aspects, and (b) an examination of some of the statements in Sanskrit literature concerning the Pre-Aryan populations. As regards the former point, it is particularly the situation in the mountainous and forest tracts of Central India that deserves attention. In Madhya Pradesh the most prominent of the tribal groups is, of course, the Gonds. They are at present stretched over an enormous area, and it was long customary to regard them as the original occupant of these areas. It is now, however, becoming increasingly clear that their presence in most of the areas they now occupy is due to migration, and that this migration does not belong to the remote past but is comparatively recent. As regards the area from which they spread, there is some fairly definitive linguistic evidence. In the first place, their language shows unmistakable traces of a particularly close connection with Kui- Kuvi among the Dravidian languages, and secondly, we have recentlyl earnt of

a tribe in Koraput, the Konda Doras, whose language, while not merely a dialect of Gondi, is nevertheless of a pronouncedly Gondoid type (S. Bhattacharya, 'Konda Language', Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, II, pp. 17–48). These facts point fairly obviously to the conclusion that the point of departure of the Gond expansion was to the south-east of the area they at present occupy, and the general direction of their movement was northward and westward. We may assume that in ancient times the Gonds were not present in the Vindhyan region and in the adjoining mountainous region of Central India, and this is in accordance with the fact that in the classical Sanskrit literature they are completely unknown.

Migration and movement of population seems to have been a fairly continuous process in this part of India. Another certain case of comparatively recent migration of a Dravidian-speaking tribe is that of the Kurukhs or Oraons in Chota Nagpur (On the migration of the Kurukhs, see S. C. Roy, *The Oraons*, chapter I). These are newcomers on the plateau, where they have settled among and partly displaced the Mundas. Earlier they were settled in the Shahabad District of Bihar, and their traditions speak of a still earlier movement up the Narmadā valley from western India. That they are of western origin would be possible, but the further theory that they originated from South India has no evidence to support it, and the proposed special resemblance of Kurukh to Canarese (Kannada), to which reference has frequently been made, is non-existent.

Taking into account these comparatively recent tribal movements, we thus find that there is a very considerable area in Central India for which we have no positive proof of early Dravidian settlement. We have also of course, no proof to the contrary, since those tribes which can be identified as the earliest inhabitants of the region and have lost their

original languages *may* have once possessed now extinct Dravidian languages. On the other hand, such languages may have been of a quite different nature, and it is not at all unlikely that the only forms of Dravidian current in these areas are the ones we have seen to have been comparatively recently introduced.

Tribal migration has not, of course, been confined to Dravidian tribes. Turning to the Kol or Munda group, there seems to be reason for suspecting the same kind of thing in the case of at least one of this group namely, the Korku. It can be seen from the map of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Volume IV, that this language is set quite apart from the rest of the family, well away to the west, and separated by a considerable stretch of territory in which no Munda is to be found. This is no doubt susceptible of various explanations, but the most obvious one is that they branched off from the main body of Kols situated in eastern India and migrated west. This is also supported by the fact that these languages are clearly members of a wide-spread family found in South-East Asia, and the weight of evidence points to the fact that their presence in India is due to immigration from the East. In that case, the most ancient element in the population of the mountainous region of Central India cannot be identified as either Kol or Dravidian.

There are quite a number of tribes in the region who can be regarded with some plausibility as the pre-Gond and pre-Kol stratum of the population. The Baigas are a well-known case in point, who have often been so regarded. For instance, the *Mandla District Gazetteer* says of them: 'Their origin is obscure, but they are almost certainly older established than the Gonds and...were gradually pushed by them into the vastness of East Mandla.' Likewise Verrier Elwin, in his study of the Baigas, observes that 'what little evidence we have suggests that the Baiga represents

the earliest settlement of all' (*The Baiga*, p. 4). This makes him further suggest that there were two settlements of the Kolarian or Munda race, the first represented by the Bhar, Bhuiya, Baiga, and kindred tribes who have entirely lost their own languages, and the second, by the Munda-speaking tribes proper. Since, however, we have no evidence about the original languages of the former set, to assume that they were originally Kolarian is begging the question. Consequently, there is a lot to be said for the more radical solution proposed by W. Koppers in his work on the Bhils (*Die Bhil in Zentral Indien*, Vienna, 1948; cf. also his article in *Inter-nationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, XLI. pp. 141–52]. Having studied the Bhils, in the first place, he proceeded to examine various other Central Indian tribes for the sake of comparison, in particular the Nahals. These latter live in the same area as the Korkus, but in his opinion are clearly the older inhabitants of the territory. Similarly, he stresses the fact that the Baigas and allied tribes are distinct from both Dravidian and Munda. Thus he arrives at a large group of non-Munda and non-Dravidian tribes, scattered over a large area, and he is at the same time at pains to pointout that there is no need to assume that these among themselves necessarily form a united group.

Koppers' theory represents a clear-cut break with a common tradition in Indian ethnological studies which looked for either Dravidian or Munda in everything that was Pre-Aryan. In the case of Nahali, at any rate, it turns out that it has some linguistic support. The Nahals, who now always live in close connection with the Korkus, have nevertheless preserved a language of their own — that is to say, a small number of them have — and this appears to be neither Dravidian nor Munda. For a long time, very little information concerning it was available. The *Amraoti District Gazetteer* says as follows: 'The Nihals, the drudges of the Kurkus, also

speak their language. Originally, the Nihals had a distinct language of their own, which is now very rapidly disappearing. Nothing is known as to its affinities, and the few who still speak it do so with such a large admixture of Korku and Marathi words that it has become difficult to obtain any definite knowledge (about it).' A small amount of material on this language was gathered for the *Linguistic Survey of India*, but it unfortunately suffered from misinterpretation, since in that work it was classified as a Munda language. But, as R. Schafer pointed out, such evidence as there is points to Nahali having been originally quite independent from both Munda and Dravidian (*Ethnography in Ancient India*, p. 13). Recently, the information available on this language has been considerably extended by the researches of S. Bhattacharya (*Indian Linguistics*, XVII, Taraporevala Volume, 1951 pp. 245-58).

Thus we find that two independent lines of investigation tend to converge. On the one hand, the investigation of the Sanskrit vocabulary shows that while the influence of Dravidian is strong, and that of Munda is not so strong but nevertheless exists, we also have to assume the existence of other pre-Aryan languages and language families to account for the large number of unexplained words in Sanskrit. Correspondingly, we have quoted ethnological researches which have assumed the existence of non-Dravidian and non-Munda tribes in Central India, and have found support for this theory in the existence there of at least one language belonging to neither of these two groups. What goes for Central India was originally the case no doubt in northern and southern India, and the universal adoption of Indo-Aryan in the North and Dravidan in the South have covered up an original linguistic diversity.

PRE-ARYAN TRIBES IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

All these considerations are to be borne in mind when we consider the references in Sanskrit literature to the pre-Aryan peoples. We must remember, in the first place, that the distribution of the tribes was not necessarily the same as at the present time. For instance we find no mention of the Gonds, which would not have been the case if they had had the predominant position among the tribals of Central India which they have today. We have remarked above that there is reason to ascribe the present extension of the Gonds to comparatively recent migration, and the fact that they find no mention in the classical Sanskrit literature is in agreement with this contention.

Not only Gond, but the majority of tribal names which exist today are unknown to Sanskrit. In the late classical period, we find that certain words such as Pulinda and Śabara are used in a quite general sense, and, consequently, they are ascribed to such tribes everywhere and carry no ethnic connotation. This was not the case earlier. The two words mentioned occur quite early in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and there the context shows that they refer to specific tribes. The same holds good for the inscriptions of Aśoka, and for some, at any rate, of the references in the epic. Since they occur so early, these terms have to be interpreted in accordance with the extension of the Aryans in the late Brāhmaṇa period, which was a good deal less than it became later. These tribes, along with thc Pauṇḍrās, Mūtibas, Andhras,etc., appear to represent the immediate southern and eastern neighbours of the Aryan kingdoms, with whom they had relations of peace and war. They are conventionally represented as Kṣatriyas by origin, who became degraded through non-observance of the Vedic rites. Their position is to be sought on the immediate fringe of the Aryan territory of that time, and as far as we can gather the Pulindas and Śabaras

occupied the same Vindhyan region which we have previously discussed. These two tribes have long since lost their identity, and since then the terms have been used indiscriminately for any and every forest tribe. It is therefore exceedingly doubtful that the modern Savaras of Ganjam have anything to do with the people mentioned in early Sanskrit literature. It is also a dubious procedure to identify them with other people having the same name, which are recorded in various regions of Central India.

The Bhils (Sanskrit: Bhillas) are mentioned much later (towards the close of the Hindu period), and though the word has sometimes a purely general use like Sabara and Pulinda, it refers mainly to the people now known by that name. The references indicate that these Bhillas were situated in southern Rajasthan and adjoining areas of Gujarat. This is in accordance with the linguistic evidence, since the particular dialect of Gujarati spoken by this tribe indicates their origin in the northern part of the area they now occupy. Like the Gonds and others, the Bhils also seem to have extended their territory by migration in comparatively recent times, though in their case the movement was southwards, while that of the Gonds was northwards. It also seems that they had lost whatever pre-Aryan language they had before this southern expansion began, and that there is no chance of finding any trace of it remaining.

The Ăndhras present a problem which has caused considerable confusion, but appears not incapable of solution. This term has for long been in common use to denote the Telugu language, country, and people, and it is the term which has been chosen as the name of the new State which has been set up to embrace all the people speaking the Telugu language. By contrast the name as used in such early texts as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and in the edicts of Aśoka seems fairly clearly to indicate the wertern Decca n as their home

Political history points in the same direction. The Āndhra or Sātavāhana dynasty, a family which, according to the Purāṇas, belonged to the Āndhra race (the term is '*āndhra-jātiya*'), flourished in the earlier period of its sway in western India. Later, its dominions came to include the Telugu area in the east, and towards the end probably the centre of gravity had shifted to this area. I would propose therefore that,, as a result of this political change, the term 'Āndhra' came to be used to denote a different country, and eventually people and language. As regards the original Āndhras, they have not entirely disappeared, but are still represented by the Andhs, a non-Aryan tribe of Berar. We should also note that the Prakrit form of this word (with suffix 'ka') appears as the name of the tribe Andhaka, which in the Kṛṣṇa story is closely connected with the Vṛṣṇis and located in western India. Evidently therefore this was one of the most important and largest of the pre-Aryan tribes which are mentioned in Sanskrit literature.

Another pre-Aryan tribe which is mentioned quite frequently in Sanskrit is that of the Ābhīras. The locality of these is fixed in Rajasthan, since they are traditionally connected with Vinaśana, the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears in the sand, a disappearance said to be due to the river's loathing of the said Ābhīras. The position of the Ābhīras is much the same as that of the later Bhils, and it looks as if this is the older designation of the same tribe.

In the vicinity of the Ābhīras lived the Gurjaras, a quite different tribe who make their appearance in Indian history at a comparatively late date. They do not appear before the sixth century A.D., but when they do, they play the dominant part in North India for the next four centuries. The suddenness of their appearance coupled with the immensity of their impact, has naturally always presented a problem

to historians. It was long customary to assume that they came from outside India along with, or about the same time as the Hūṇas, but through lack of corroboratory evidence this theory seems now to have been abandoned. The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that they were an ancient pre-Aryan people domiciled in the region of Mt. Abu who, like others before them, managed through favourable circumstances to acquire political domination over large stretches of territory for a considerable period of time. It is practically certain that they had, to begin with, a language of their own, since a large number of the proper names of the Gurjara period (Aṇahilla etc.) seem incapable of derivation from Sanskrit or Prakrit. At the same time, I have noticed nothing about them that suggests a Kol or Dravidian connection.

There are many other pre-Aryan tribes appearing in Sanskrit literature which deserve mention. The Barbaras, known also to the Greeks, and situated near the mouths of the Indus, still preserved a language of their own in the time of Kumārila. The Khasas of the Himalayan regions figure quite prominently, and though they have adopted Indo-Aryan speech, they have retained their tribal identity to this day. In north-western India, the geographical lists mention numerous tribes, a number of which have a non-Aryan look (Taṅgaṇas, Kīras, etc.). Other ancient tribes and castes probably to be regarded as non-Aryan are registered under such names as Dāśeraka, Pāraśava, Kāraskara, and so forth. The term 'Niṣāda', originally meaning simply an aboriginal, seems in certain contexts to mean a specific tribe. The name 'Guha' of the Niṣāda chieftain encountered by Rama is not chosen at random, but as can be seen from various geographical and tribal lists, it is an ethnic name applied to yet another pre-Aryan tribe.

A few words here are necessary concerning the use of the term 'Nāga' in connection with the non-Aryan tribes. An instance of this, which may be conveniently quoted as an example, is the statement of the Purānas that after the decline of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty there arose in North India a number of Naga dynasties ruling in such places as Mathura, Padmāvatī, and so forth. In the case of one of these dynasties, known as the Bhārasivas, the evidence of the Purānas is corroborated by epigraphical evidence. It is clearly a fact that a number of dynasties of non-Aryan origin succeeded in establishing their authority as a result of the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the Kuṣāṇas. It is further frequently stated that these dynasties belonged to a Nāga tribe, which would be a specific non-Aryan tribe like the ones previously mentioned. It is therefore necessary to point out that no such tribe existed in ancient India. Neither in the geographical lists nor in the lists of castes (where such tribal names as Āndhra, Sabhara, Pulinda, etc. appears with regularity and frequency) is any Nāga tribe ever mentioned. The Nāgas existed only in mythology, and, since their attributes and characteristics are well known, they need not be detailed here. The use of the term in connection with pre-Aryan dynasties, such as those mentioned above, is due to a convention which became established, according to which petty dynasties, originating in all kinds of tribes, were accustomed to ascribe the origin of their family to the union of somebody or other with a Nāga maiden. This custom remained permanently established both in India and in South-East Asia. The actual tribe from which such dynasties originated is often quite well known, so the question of there being a Naga tribe does not arise. In the case of the Nāga dynasties of North India, mentioned above, a clue to their origin is found in the name of the most important of them, the Bhāraśivas. Their own theory, that they were so called

because their ancestors had borne on their shoulders as a burden the *linga* of Siva, is an *ad hoc* invention of a common sort. The name, which they felt needed explanation to make it into Sanskrit, finds a better explanation if we regard the first part as identical with (or perhaps rather a *vṛddhied* form of) the name of the Bhar tribe, which still counts as one of the most important pre-Aryan castes of Uttar Pradesh.

LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION OF THE TRIBES

Concerning the linguistic affiliations of these various tribes mentioned in Sanskrit literature, it is unfortunately not possible to say anything definite. Some of such tribes have ceased to exist, and those that remain have adopted some form of Indo-Aryan language. We can only say anything definite on this point in the case of those tribes whose location can be fixed in the Dravidian and Kol area. The Tamils or Dravidas are mentioned quite early, though not until well after the Vedic period. Elsewhere, as far as South Dravidian territory is concerned, we have regional names, *Kuntala*, *Mahisaka*, etc., which are not associated with linguistic divisions. The ambiguity of the term 'Andhra' has been noted above. The tribes located in eastern India, in particular the Odras and the Puṇḍras, may claim to be early Kolarian, and of these the latter (in the *vṛddhied* form Pauṇḍra) are already known in Vedic times. Manu mentions them along with Yavanas, Dravidas, etc. as Kṣatriyas who have lost status through non-performance of Vedic rites, which is to say that they were independent non-Aryan kingdoms. No doubt many of the later dynasties in the later history of Orissa were of the same nationality, though Brahmanized in religion and using Sanskrit as their official language. We may instance the Brhauma Karas, the first part of whose name corresponds, in sénse and derivation to such modern terms for these aboriginals as Bhumij and Bhuiya, whereas the second term may be a Sanskritization of the Kolarian word for 'man'.

In the case of the northern Dravidian tribes existing today, there appears to be some possibility that they may be recognizable in certain Sanskrit references. Father Grignard, in an article which besides this contains theories which are much too speculative, identified the Kurukh with the Kurusa tribe of Sanskrit literature (commonly pronounced Karukha), and in this he is followed by Sarat Chandra Roy. This identification is supported by the fact that the Karusas of Sanskrit literature are usually mentioned in connection with another tribe, the Maladas. This pair, Karusa (karukha) and Malada, corresponds very well with the modern, closely kindred tribes Kurukh and Malto, and since the similarity of name extends to both members of the pair, the possibility of chance resemblance is very considerably reduced.

As to the Brahuis, their ancestors may in some cases be represented by the Sanskrit name Bāhlika (Bālhika), since there is an obvious resemblance between the two names. It is true that the Sanskrit name is usually held to represent Middle Iranian Bālxi, from Bāxtri, i. e. Bactrian, and in some contexts it may. There are, however, contexts, where it does not seem to have this meaning. I may cite the reference to a people of this name (Bālhika) in the Atharva-Veda where, according to the usual system of dating, this form occurs some centuries before the above mentioned Middle Iranian phonetic change had taken place. Particularly significant is the reference in the Mehrauli pillar inscription of Candra, who claims to have conquered the Bālhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. This would not get him to Bactria, but it would take him to the country where the Brahuis now live.

It would be possible to cite further evidence concerning the references to the pre-Aryans in Sanskrit literature. Much more detailed discussion could also be given to those references which have been touched on, but limits of space prevent

this. There are also other aspects of the fusion of Aryan and pre-Aryan, e. g. in the field of religion, which it has not been possible to include in the present discussion. Nevertheless, from the subjects which have been touched on, the influence of the pre-Aryan languages on Indo-Aryan, and the extent to which they figure in Sanskrit literature and Indian history, has been sufficient to demonstrate the importance of their contribution to the amalgam of Indian civilization. It is to be expected that further researches in these and other fields will confirm and strengthen these conclusions.